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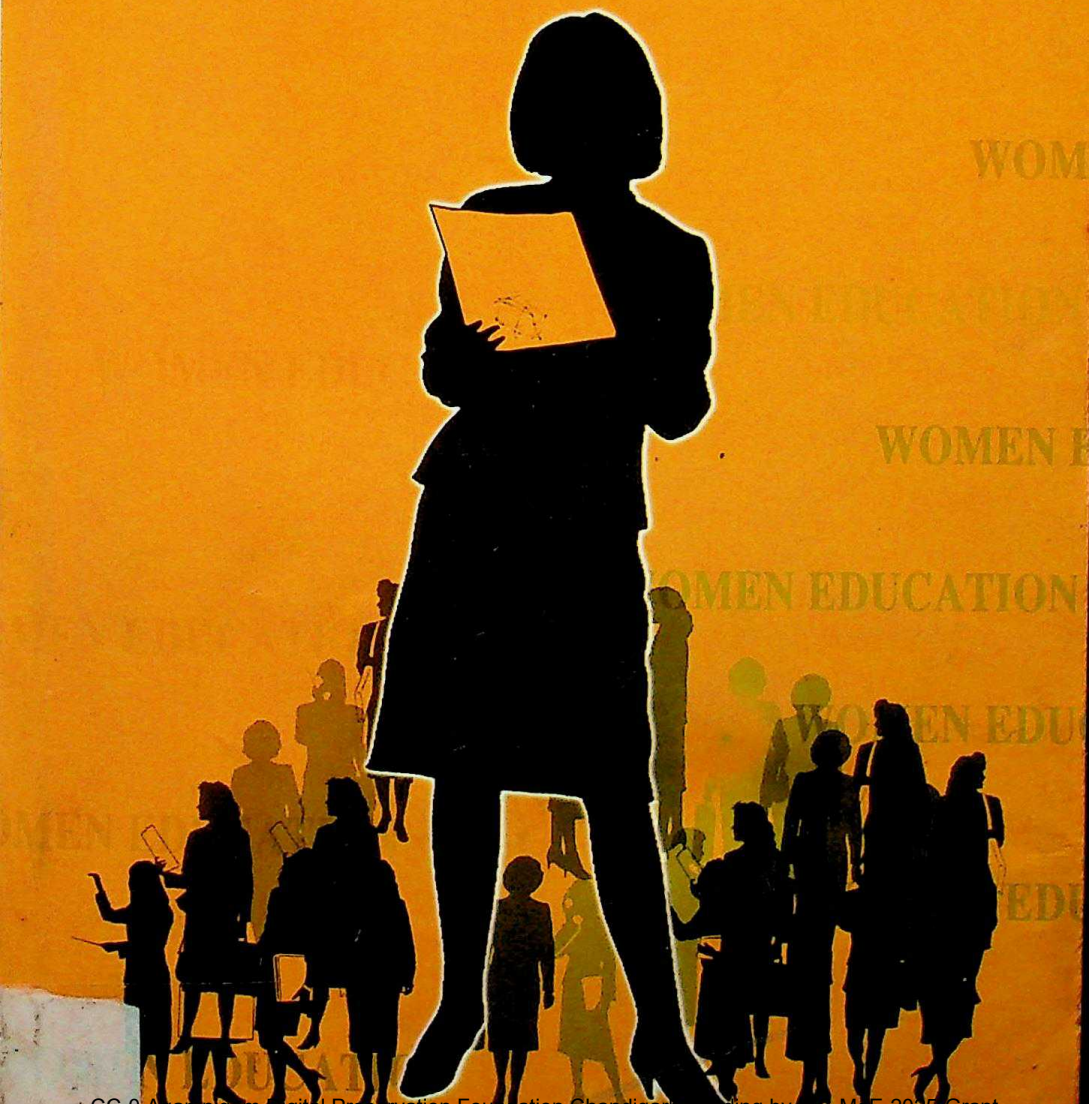
WOMEN EDUCATION

R. C. MISHRA



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Women Education

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Preface

Education is the best investment, any society can make for the health and well-being of its children, as well as its economic and social progress. It is the principal means available to foster a deeper and more harmonious form of human development and thereby to reduce poverty, exclusion, ignorance, oppression and war. It takes place throughout life in many forms, none of which ought to be exclusive. While education is an ongoing process of improving knowledge and skills, it also is an exceptional means of bringing about personal development and building relationships among individuals, groups and nations.

This century has been as much one of sound and fury as of economic and social progress — progress that in any case has not been equally shared. At the dawn of a new century the prospect of which evokes both anguish and hope, it is essential that all people with a sense of responsibility turn their attention to both the aims and the means of education. In confronting with the challenges, the future holds in store, humankind sees in education an indispensable asset in its attempt to gain the ideals of peace, freedom and social justice.

Like any other field of our society, education is also with full of contradictions and paradoxes. It is called upon

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to reconcile divergent aims and trends, to embody both continuity and renewal, to encourage conformity and innovation at the same time. Furthermore, like much human endeavour, the practice of education is always a blend between a long-range vision and the urgency of day-to-day practice. Neither it be sacrificed, nor entirely satisfied, at any time. Even the midst of these paradoxes, there is a great deal of hopefulness in the capacity of individual institutions and entire systems to meet the challenges of the future. The desire on the part of educators to respond to the challenges that they face, both old and new, is one of the most encouraging messages that emerges from them.

This encyclopaedic publication aims to provide the fundamental aspects of education in the 21st century. It is organised into four volumes, each covering the key areas of education in our times — Early Childhood Care and Education, Women Education, Health and Nutrition Education and HIV/AIDS Education. The educational needs, current trends, opportunities and challenges in each field are described in detail. This work will be an essential reading for all who related with education, health and development.

Editor

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1

Girls Education and Development

In the Millennium Declaration of September 2000, Member States of the United Nations made a most passionate commitment to address the crippling poverty and multiplying misery that grip many areas of the globe. "We will spare no effort," they affirmed, "to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected." Governments set a date of 2015 by which they would meet the Millennium Development Goals:

— eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education,

— promote gender equality and empower women,

— reduce child mortality,

— improve maternal health,

— combat HIV/AIDS,

— malaria and other diseases,

— ensure environmental sustainability, and

— develop a global partnership for development.

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While achieving each goal is critical to development, two are considered by leaders in the international community to be central to all others - universal education, and gender equality and empowering women. Universal education might seem a relatively straightforward goal but it has proven as difficult as any to achieve. Decades after commitments and reaffirmations of those commitments have been made to ensure a quality education for every child, some 121 million children are still denied this right. Despite thousands of successful projects in countries around the globe, gender parity in education - in access to school, successful achievement and completion - is as elusive as ever and girls continue to systematically lose out on the benefits that an education affords.

As a result, the children whose lives would have been saved if their mothers had been educated continue to die. Those boys and girls who would have been healthier had their mothers been educated continue to suffer needlessly. The reduction in poverty, hunger and HIV/AIDS that would follow if all children were educated remains an idealist's dream. It doesn't have to be that way. Universal education, and all the good that it will bring, is possible.

Investing in girls' education today - not just with money but with energy and enthusiasm, commitment and concern, focus and intensity - is a strategy that will protect the rights of all children to a quality education, and a strategy that will jump-start all other development goals. But, the signs in the first three years since the Millennium Declaration are not encouraging for universal education, or gender parity in education or for any of the other Millennium Development Goals.

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The events of 11 September 2001 and the battle against terrorism around the globe have occupied much of the world's headline attention and soaked up resources that could have been devoted to human development. Now, the world will have to strain to the utmost to meet the commitments of the Goals. If progress is not accelerated, the levels of hunger that threaten survival will persist in some regions of the world for an inconceivable 100 years. Millions of children under five will continue to die needlessly over the same time. In sub-Saharan Africa, at the current rate of progress, it will be well into the 22nd century before all children are in school, child mortality is reduced by two thirds and poverty reduced by half.

More immediately than the 2015 date, the Millennium Development Goal of gender parity in primary and secondary education is set to be achieved by 2005 - a full 10 years before the others. Not only an end in itself but also part of the broader goal of education for all, the 2005 goal is the first test of the world's commitment to break poverty's stranglehold. Many countries, however, will fall short of the 2005 target for gender parity in education if nothing is done now to accelerate change. What's more, this failure will jeopardize the goals set for 2015.

Without the foundation of gender parity in education as the necessary step towards the equality of women, any achievements towards the later goals will not be sustainable. Thus the 2005 goal of eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education becomes the first step toward meeting the 2015 goals - and the most urgent one of all.

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1.1. Education for all Children

The international community's commitment to universal education was first set down in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and later reiterated in the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. At the 1990 World Summit for Children, world leaders not only reaffirmed their commitment that girls and boys alike should have a quality basic education, they also pledged to place their emphasis on reducing the disparities that had existed between rates of school enrolment for decades. Despite these commitments, the ideal of universal education remains unfulfilled and gender gaps persist until today.

The 2005 target date for gender parity is attached not only to the Millennium Development Goals, but to the goals that were first put forth at the World Conference on Education For All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, and then reaffirmed at the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. Here, too, girls' education was afforded first attention: "The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation...." So it is that for more than a decade, the Education For All (EFA) campaign, led by UNESCO, has embraced a mission that includes both advocacy and "a sense of accountability towards commitments." Through its Global Monitoring Reports, EFA assesses individual countries' yearly progress and champions educational policies that will increase enrolment rates and success in school. In its 2002 Report, EFA noted that although 86 countries have already achieved gender parity in primary enrolment, and another 36 appear close to meeting that goal, 31

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countries, the majority of which are located in sub-Saharan Africa, are at high risk of not achieving the goal by 2015. Following Dakar, 13 agencies formed the

United Nations Girls' Education Initiative in the EFA spirit to mount a "sustained campaign to improve the quality and availability of girls' education" that works at both the global and country levels. It is in its capacity as lead agency of this Initiative that UNICEF embraces the urgency of the 2005 Millennium Development Goal to eliminate gender disparity in education. These commitments to universal education and eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 were avowed once again by the Heads of States and Government who convened at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children in May 2002 and pledged to make education for all children an essential part of building a 'World Fit for Children'. Despite decades of attention to the issue, some 121 million children are out of school, and 65 million of them are girls.

At any moment, they are being denied their right to a basic education, as nations fail to make primary education compulsory, free, available, accessible, acceptable · and adaptable to girls and boys alike. And scores of countries are without the talent, energy and creativity these millions of children could bring to the development of their societies. he impact of failure Think for a moment of a nine-year-old girl who is currently denied her right to an education.

The two years until the end of 2005 may not seem like much time to those responsible for delivering gender parity by that date. It may seem reasonable to accept that the target is impossible, and to settle for only an

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incremental improvement. But to that girl the next two years are vital and irreplaceable. Once lost, they cannot be reclaimed. Going to school will transform her life. It will offer her learning and an expanded sense of her own potential, increasing her selfconfidence, her social and negotiation skills, her earning power and her ability to protect herself against violence and ill health.

Education will open up the world to her. If the school gates remain shut and barred to this young girl, the gulf between her and the woman she could have become will widen with every passing month. Once she misses her chance to attend primary school, she also loses out on secondary education and beyond. The price of losing two school years would be catastrophic to any child but is even higher for a girl - and it will be paid not only by the girl herself but also by her family, her society and her country.

The negative effects of not attending school are greater for girls than for boys - and their impact transfers to the next generation of both boys and girls. Whether educated or not, girls are more at risk than boys from HIV/AIDS, sexual exploitation and child trafficking. Without the knowledge and life skills that school can provide, these risks are multiplied. So it is that school allows girls and their families multiple protections and its absence means multiple exposures.

Failure of accountability. Rather than recognized as the right of every child, education is too often seen simply as a 'good thing' for most children. As a result, while it is considered desirable to have as many children in school as a country can afford, it is not considered obligatory or necessary that governments mobilize the needed resources so that all children can complete a

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quality education. Parents often do not realize that governments have the obligation to make education available to all children, and attribute their children's failure to attend school as some failure of their own. They are not likely to demand that governments fulfil this fundamental obligation to their younger citizens.

In the face of competing demands on public resources and political will, education loses out. In times of fiscal constraints or social crises - for example, HIV/AIDS and the upheavals that attend violent conflicts or natural disasters - education for some children is easily sacrificed. And because of the persistent and often subtle gender discrimination that runs through most societies, it is girls who are sacrificed first, being the last enrolled and first withdrawn from schools when times get tough.

1.2. Reasons for Exclusion

Failure of understanding: Human rights principles have not been integrated into economic development programmes, and the ultimate objective of development - human well-being instead of economic performance - has thus been lost. Those who are the most marginalized · women, girls and the poor - lose out the most. Such discrimination, unrecorded, leaves the rights of the marginalized far from the thoughts of development policy makers. In addition, how educated women contribute to any country's development has yet to be widely recognized. Despite the scientific evidence, educating girls is rarely discussed in policy circles as a way to ensure social progress. As a result, investment in girls' education is often bypassed when budget decisions are being negotiated.

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Failure of theory: Historically, the predominant views of development and the financing mechanisms accompanying them have focused on single-factor motors of development: economic growth and structural adjustment, which underestimate the value of social development, education in general and girls' education in particular. Such approaches do not begin by asking what resources are required to fund education, health, nutrition and shelter for children. They never get to the question of how to raise required resources without destabilizing macroeconomic parameters.

The macroeconomic parameters are set first, with resources for people-centred investments, including those that address gender equality, as only a residual consideration. Just as importantly, development paradigms have generally failed to address the unequal relationships between men and women, and failed to take into account women's potential to contribute in the private and public sectors to a country's development. As a result, issues affecting women and girls are nearly invisible in the theories, policies and practices of development.

Failure of strategy: Even among those committed to the goal of Education For All, there is often a traditional perspective that looks only to the education sector when identifying problems and developing solutions. As a result, policies and programmes are often narrow and singlefocused, though it is a multisectoral approach that is needed to overcome the obstacles barring girls from school. Traditional perspectives often fail to take into account the gender issues that affect children's access to school, those related to the differences between the needs of girls and boys, and the inequities in their roles, responsibilities and identities. Without a recognition of

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such differences, educational policies and practices are gender blind, when they should be gender sensitive. In such cases, the behaviour and attitudes of policy makers and practitioners at best fail to meet the particular needs of boys and girls and at worst sabotage their right to an education.

With the rights of 65 million girls unmet and the Millennium Development Goals in peril, change is clearly needed. But it is needed at many levels and will not be achieved through enrolment drives alone. To successfully remove the barriers that prevent girls from accessing an education, and succeeding in and completing school, societies will inevitably have to deal with factors that are fundamental to the quality of life of the whole community. Girls' education is so inextricably linked with the other facets of human development that to make it a priority is to also make change on a range of other fronts, from the health and status of women to early childhood care, from nutrition, water and sanitation to community empowerment, from the reduction of child labour and other forms of exploitation to the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

A concerted global push is now needed to meet the Millennium Development Goals and the education goals of Dakar - as well as to realize the vision of the Special Session on Children to create a world fit for children. The effort is morally imperative; it must also be practical and it must be catalytic. UNICEF's longstanding commitment to girls' education has assumed greater urgency and why we now call on all those concerned with human rights and the Millennium Development Goals to:

1. Accelerate actions in countries that display specific and flagrant gender discrimination against girls and

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boys, especially in those where either group is significantly at risk of being left out of school.

2. Embrace a human rights-based, multisectoral approach to development, in order to redress the multiple discriminatory situations that deny children their right to quality primary education.

By using a human rights model and a multisectoral approach to ensuring that all girls are educated, the world will necessarily have to address underlying inequities and gender discrimination. The results of such a global initiative will cover a broad landscape. It will create by 2005 a vanguard generation of children who are living a lesson in equality. It will mean that schools, curricula and teachers are changing to become truly child-friendly, thereby offering a better education to all children equally. It will mean that all countries have acknowledged that education is an urgent priority and that developing countries have shifted their resources to attract and retain girls and boys in school. It will mean that donor countries have lived up to their pledges to support development. It will be a powerful global expression of commitment to children's rights.

The multiple global efforts to ensure the right of every girl and boy to an education - including the Education For All movement, the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative, the World Bank's Fast-Track Initiative and the Global Movement for Children - must step up their work. The international community has committed itself, time and again, to fulfilling the education rights of girls as well as boys. The research community has demonstrated, in study after study, the social value of providing girls with an education.

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Millions of children depend on our actions. Having 65 million more girls in school, alongside millions of boys - each learning, growing and thriving - will put new life into development and help create the healthier, fairer and more democratic world we have been striving towards for decades.

Education is everybody's human right. This simple fact is at the core of UNICEF's commitment to girls' education. It means that no girl, however poor, however desperate her country's situation, is to be excluded from school. There is no acceptable excuse for denying her the opportunities to develop to her fullest potential. Education saves and improves the lives of girls and women. It allows women greater control of their lives and provides them with skills to contribute to their societies. It enables them to make decisions for themselves and to influence their families. It is this power that produces all the other developmental and social benefits.

Women's participation and influence in governments, families, communities, the economy and the provision of services is a common good. It leads to more equitable development, stronger families, better services, better child health. In addition to its benefits for girls and women, education is a uniquely positive force with a wide-ranging impact on society and human development. Debates continue about whether primary, secondary or tertiary education should be the priority when considering funding for education. But such debates distract from the essential issue for young girls: their right to a basic education. If they miss out on this, they inevitably miss out on secondary education and all the good that goes with it.

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Among the many long-term benefits of educating girls are:

Enhanced economic development: Decades of research provide substantial evidence of the link between the expansion of basic education and economic development - and girls' education has an even more positive effect. Regions that invested over the long term in girls' education such as South-East Asia and, at least until the 1980s debt crisis, Latin America, have tended to show higher levels of economic development. As the primary enrolment rate for girls increases, so too does gross domestic product per capita. Countries that fail to raise the education level of women to the same as that of men increase the cost of their development efforts and pay for the failure with slower growth and reduced income. At the same time, economic development, and hence higher income per family, can help in convincing reluctant parents to forgo the quick economic benefit of their daughters' work, and instead send them to school, producing long-term benefits for a country's economy.

Education for the next generation: If educated girls become mothers they are much more likely to send their children to school, thereby passing on and multiplying benefits both for themselves and society in a positive, intergenerational effect. One of the clearest findings from a recent UNICEF analysis of household data from 55 countries and 2 Indian states is that children of educated women are much more likely to go to school, and the more schooling the women have received, the more probable it is that their children will also benefit from education. This recent study backs up research that traces the way in which literacy and language skills gained by girls at school not only result in improved health

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outcomes for themselves and their children but also eventually for their grandchildren as well.

The multiplier effect: Education has an impact on areas beyond learning, extending a positive influence into most aspects of a child's life. For example, children who go to school are more likely to learn what they need to stay healthy, including how to protect themselves against diseases. Education for girls, who are more vulnerable than boys to HIV, offers the needed protection for those at risk. These benefits cross generations as women with the knowledge of how to guard against HIV/AIDS are also more likely to send their children to school. In addition, an education means that children are less likely to be trafficked or exploited as labourers, and less vulnerable to abuse and violence; and since girls are more likely to suffer these assaults, education is especially important to their protection and carries its influence beyond the classroom.

Healthier families: One benefit to society of educating girls is a greater balance between family size and family resources. When a society ensures that mothers are educated, children will be healthier and fewer will die. Children of more educated women tend to be better nourished and get sick less often. The effect of a mother's education on her child's health and nutrition is so significant that each extra year of maternal education reduces the rate of mortality for children under the age of 5 by between 5 per cent and 10 per cent, according to a review of extensive evidence from the developing world.

Fewer maternal deaths: Women who have been to school are less likely to die during childbirth. The effect of schooling in reducing the number of births means that for every 1,000 women every additional year of education

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will prevent 2 maternal deaths. Research has shown that maternal mortality is also reduced by better knowledge about health-care practices, use of health services during pregnancy and birth, improved nutrition and increasing the spacing between births: all factors that are fostered by being an educated woman.

The development gap Although the international community has committed itself to girls' education as a human rights issue and the benefits of investing in girls' education are clear, it has yet to become a priority for development investments. The reasons for this are complex and bring into question not just education policy but the historically dominant approaches to development that prioritize economic considerations and ignore human rights.

Many of the early ideas about development were rooted in the belief that economic growth, measured by gross domestic product, was paramount. It was assumed that as the total value of goods produced and services provided by any country within one year expanded, poverty and inequality would be automatically, almost magically, reduced. The fruits of economic growth, it was assumed, would fall into the laps of all, whether rich or poor, male or female.

This view of growth as central to development in a country's productivity was refined and redefined frequently as many years of dismal experience in developing countries proved the model's inadequacy. Growth remained limited in all but a few developing countries and no consistent evidence emerged to show that this type of growth alone would reduce poverty or inequality. The economics of development at this point were also gender blind. There was no attempt to consider

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if or how the status of women relative to men affected their participation in economic development. It also ignored areas of the so-called 'unpaid care' economy, i. e., domestic, nursing and other nurturing work largely undertaken by women on whom the 'productive' sector of the economy depended.

There was also little awareness that any benefits accruing to a household may be distributed unequally due to the established power relations between men and women. In the 1980s, as growth models faltered, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund spearheaded the implementation of structural adjustment programmes aimed at reducing public expenditure and giving more scope for prices and incentives to find their own level in the marketplace. Adjustment often entailed cuts in spending on education, health and food subsidies that disproportionately hurt the poor. These cuts hit poor women particularly hard since they had to step up their workload both inside and outside the home so that their families could cope.

Adjustment also failed even on its own terms, resulting in next-to-no economic growth. A Bank study in 2000 concluded: Growth of per capita income for a typical developing country during the 1980s and 1990s was zero. By the 1990s, the assumption that economic growth alone would deliver human development was recognized as flawed. The opposite seems to be true: human development can foster economic growth.

A UNICEF study of 49 nations shows that the countries that achieved the highest average annual growth between 1990 and 2000 were those that had a baseline in 1980 of low child mortality and low income poverty; while the economies that actually shrank in that

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decade were those that all started in 1980 with high child mortality, high income povert ' or both. There is now a more general acceptance that development, if it is to be meaningful, has to transcend economics. There is also more widespread understanding - particularly since the Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 - that a gender perspective on the economics of development is essential, and that poverty cannot be reduced in any sustainable manner without promoting women's empowerment.

Education policy has followed a slow path to the realization that girls' schooling is fundamental to a country's success in achieving education for all. In the early years of the development movement, when many countries were newly independent, there was general enthusiasm for education as a vital factor in a nation's advancement. But the task of educating all children was huge. In 1960, fewer than half of the developing world's children aged 6 to 11 were enrolled in primary school, and in sub-Saharan Africa only 1 child in 20 attended secondary school. And by 1980, despite some success (overall primary enrolment had doubled in Asia and Latin America, and tripled in Africa) millions of children were still out of school, the majority of them girls.

Rapid population growth consistently frustrated progress, staying ahead of the increase in the numbers in school. In the 1980s, structural adjustment made things worse. A study of the sub-Saharan countries that underwent adjustment between 1980 and 1993 indicates that the average reduction in real per capita spending was 14 per cent during the adjustment period. Of the 15 countries in this group, 12 had a decline in per capita spending on education.

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In 1990, the World Conference on Education For All held in Jomtien, Thailand recognized the chronic neglect of children's right to education in the poorest countries, especially the neglect of the rights of girls which, under structural adjustment in the 1980s, was exacerbated rather than mitigated by international intervention and concern. This landmark gathering took a major step towards refocusing the world's attention, making high-quality primary education the cornerstone of its renewed drive to put all children in school. It served to re-establish education at the heart of development.

The Jomtien Conference, and the Education For All move- ment that was born of it, recognized the importance of closing the gender gap and of taking special measures to enable girls to go to school and to stay there. In the laudable drive towards education for all, it was assumed that the gender gap would be automatically reduced. In reality, this was not necessarily the case. The greater attention paid to girls' education throughout the 1990s can be attributed to the intersection of two key movements based on human rights: the child rights movement that gathered steady momentum in the wake of the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, and the women's movement, which culminated in the Platform for Action at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, a platform specifically addressed to the needs and rights of girls.

In this sense it has taken until the 21st century for girls' education to receive its due primacy. The academic evidence and programmatic proof of its efficacy had been there for many years, certainly since the late 1980s and early 1990s. But it was only in 2000, at the UN Millennium Summit and the World Education Forum in

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Dakar, that the push for girls' education moved from the education sector to centre stage.

1.2.1. Resistance

Beyond these broad international trends are other factors that have stopped girls' education from garnering the attention it deserves. Local beliefs, cultural practices and attitudes to gender roles, such as whether education improves or reduces a girl's chance of marriage, can undoubtedly hold girls back from school. Cultural resistance is not always consistent in all countries and may vary in specific parts of a country or with specific population groups. What's more, expectations about gender roles differ at different stages of the life cycle, as in many Latin American and Caribbean countries, where there are marked differences between the early years of primary school and late adolescence.

But parents' objections to their daughters going to school are more likely to be on the grounds of safety or economics than out of a belief that girls should not be educated. They may feel that a school is unsafe, or that the journey to school is perilous or too long, putting girls at risk of sexual assault or other forms of violence. Too often their feelings are right on target. Alternatively, they may believe that sacrificing a daughter's work at home or in the fields would jeopardize family income and survival.

For poor families, bearing the opportunity cost of sending a girl to school may not seem economically justifiable in the short term. This is especially the case in societies that have not embraced the idea that women have the right to paid employment or where jobs for educated women are scarce. Decisions about whether to

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send daughters to school are often taken on the basis of analysing the costs and benefits to the whole family.

In these cases the problem is often more on the supply side - the availability of safe, accessible and girl-friendly schools; employment possibilities for women; educational information for parents - than with any lack of demand for education from families. The proportion of parents who would stand against their daughters being educated, once the benefits had been convincingly explained and the physical or economic barriers at the local or family level had been overcome, woul2d be small indeed. In Sierra Leone, for example, in areas where communities have been trained to work together on issues of common concern, parents, including very poor ones, now send their daughters to school.

When the Kenyan Government announced in 2003 that education fees were abolished, the schools were flooded with 1. 3 million children and adolescents who had previously been excluded. Of these, nearly half were girls. The sense that the primary problem is not with the lack of demand for education from children and their parents is reinforced by opinion surveys from around the world. According to a recent global survey by the Pew Research Center, 6 in 10 respondents in Latin America and more than one half of Africans see poor schools as a "top national concern."

When the polling organization Gallup International interviewed more than 50,000 people in 60 countries, 86 per cent of those surveyed rejected the suggestion that education was more important for boys than girls. In the same vein, a recent World Bank comparative study of 23 countries carried moving testimonies from parents in poor families strug- gling with the decision as to whether

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to invest in their children's education - and from others already making heartbreaking sacrifices in order to do so. An extensive UNICEF survey of children and adolescents in East Asia and the Pacific asked those not attending school for their reasons.

Only 19 per cent responded that they did not want to go to school or did not like school. Some 22 per cent had stopped school so they could work. While 43 per cent reported being out of school due to lack of money, 22 per cent cited the necessity of helping at home and 4 per cent said there was simply no school available. Furthermore, by far the most popular priority in the Say Yes for Children campaign, which amassed nearly 95 million votes of support from adults and children worldwide from 2001 to 2002, was "Educate every child." Given this demand from the grass roots, the main 'cultural resistance' may be the reluctance of national and international policy makers to make education a priority and to implement measures that have been shown to work on the ground.

The special situation of girls and women has traditionally been 'invisible' to predominantly male policy makers and girls' education as an issue is only now being brought into the light. In some powerful quarters there will still be overt discrimination and determined resistance to the idea of giving girls an equal chance. Many politicians, administrators or aid officials who pay lip service to the principles of gender equality remain uncomfortable with pro- grammes that have a specific gender focus, and passively fail to implement them.

Any drive to get all girls into school has to be sensitive to the local context. It has to squarely face up to

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the realities of gender discrimination, wherever it exists. 'Traditional culture' is often used as an excuse to explain why expected results in girls' education have not been achieved. Increasingly, that excuse does not stand up to scrutiny.

1.2.2. Poverty

A recent report on the extent and depth of child poverty in the developing worldfound there to be some 135 million children between 7 and 18 years old without any education at all, with girls 60 per cent more likely than boys (16 per cent compared with 10 per cent) to be so 'educationally deprived'. Practically all children who are deprived of an education also suffer other deprivations. Thus, the stark disparity between genders relative to education translates into the probability that girls are more likely than boys to endure other manifestations of poverty, such as being deprived of food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter or information.

What's more, although the gender disparity in education is apparent for both the poor and non-poor alike, it is significantly greater for children living in poverty (12 per cent of boys and 17 per cent of girls) than for those living above the poverty threshold (3 per cent of boys and 5 per cent of girls). Thus, girls are in double jeopardy: because of their gender and because of their poverty.

There is an alternative approach to development that will allow girls their right to education, meet the commitments of the international community and maximize the multiplier effects of investing in girls' education - a human rights, multisectoral model.

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Human rights

The successful efforts to have the United Nations, adopt such an approach were led by UNICEF, whose work and mission are based on two fundamental human rights treaties: The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Since 1996, UNICEF has been guided by the principles of these two treaties, linking the rights of children with the rights of women in all its programmes of cooperation.

Multisectoral

Many, some would say most, of the obstacles that keep girls from enjoying their right to complete their education are found far from the school room. In towns without access to water, in communities sieged by HIV/AIDS, and in families caught in poverty's grip, girls are often kept at home to fetch daily rations, care for siblings or serve as domestic workers. In the face of such challenging realities, no new curriculum, gender-sensitive lesson plan or culturally appropriate textbooks will get them to school.

Solutions must come from outside education's standard framework - from an approach that integrates planning and action across multiple sectors. For example, interventions in health and nutrition, although initially designed to improve a child's chances of survival and sound development, will also contribute to better performance in school. Providing school meals will improve a child's nutrition, and also provide an incentive for youngsters to enter and stay in school. Logically and inevitably, a multisectoral approach will yield the greatest results for girls' education.

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The Millennium Development Goals have set a seal on this more rights-based, multifaceted, human-centred vision of development. As one of their principal foundations, the Goals link progress on education, health, poverty relief and the environment with girls' right to equality in schooling. Now this new approach and these Goals hold promise for the lives of girls and the fate of nations.

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2

Essentials of Educating Girls

2.1. Gender Parity in Education

What is the scale of the problem that remains to be tackled if the Millennium Development Goal for gender parity in education by 2005 is to be met? The ultimate goal is that by 2015, all boys and girls alike should have access to, and complete, a good quality primary education. 'All' implies that girls and boys must be equally well provided for; but there is a separate Millennium Development Goal that makes this explicit: to eliminate by 2005 all gender disparity in primary and secondary education, and to achieve by 2015 full gender equality in education - including enrolment, completion and learning achievement. But these goals look dauntingly distant.

Access to primary schooling is most usefully measured by net enrolment ratios. These increased during the 1990s in all regions and made for a world average of 81 per cent enrolment by 2002. But the regional variation is enormous. While enrolment rates in Latin America and the Caribbean are close to those in industrialized countries, at 94 and 97 per cent

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respectively, South Asia lags much further behind at 74 per cent, while sub-Saharan Africa languishes at a mere 59 per cent.

Every year an increasing number of children have been accommodated within primary education, but available places are not sufficient to keep pace with the annual growth in the school-age population. As a result, the global number of children out of school stubbornly remains undiminished at 121 million - and the majority is still girls. This failure to reduce the overall number of children who do not attend school is worrying enough - especially bearing in mind the hazards, from exploitative child labour to HIV/AIDS, to which these out-of-school children are disproportionately exposed - but the global figure hides an even more disturbing truth at the regional level.

Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, accounts for a proportionately larger number of the world's non-enrolled primaryschool- aged children - 41 million in 1990 and 45 million in 2002. Significantly, the mass of children out of school includes those who have dropped out early, as well as those who have never set foot in a classroom. The Millennium Development Goals specify that the world needs to ensure that children complete their primary schooling - it is not enough that they merely register and attend only for a year or two.

A recent World Bank study indicates that the population-weighted rate of primary-school completion in the developing world rose from 73 per cent to 81 per cent during the 1990s. Again, the global figure masks great regional and gender variations. In sub-Saharan Africa the completion rate has improved over the decade but it is still barely over 50 per cent, and if it continues to

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increase only at the present rate, it will barely reach 60 per cent by 2015. In the Middle East and North Africa completion rates are generally higher, at around 74 per cent, but have remained stagnant throughout the 1990s. In many cases, out-of-school girls are 'invisible'; they are either not reported or underreported.

Many countries suffer from a real information gap in which populations in hard-to-reach areas are often not accounted for. In addition, countries mostly report on averages and thus frequently conceal very serious gender disparities between internal regions, and economic and ethnic groups. The same study indicates that if the rate of progress in the 1990s extends to 2015, nearly one child in five will still fail to complete primary school.

The gender gap in primary school enrolment certainly narrowed during the 1990s. The ratio of girls' gross enrolment rate to boys' in developing countries increased from 0. 86 to 0. 92. Nearly two thirds of developing countries improved on girls' enrolment over the decade, with the biggest improvements seen in Benin, Chad, the Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan and Sudan. In Morocco, the proportion of girls' enrolment in rural areas shot up from 44. 6 per cent in 1997- 1998 to 82. 2 per cent in 2002-2003.

Yet girls' primary school completion rate still lags way behind boys', at 76 per cent compared with 85 per cent. This yawning gender gap means that millions more girls than boys are dropping out each year. As a result, the majority of the children not in school are girls. Again, the most worrying statistics come from sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of girls out of school rose from 20 million in 1990 to 24 million in 2002.

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Eighty-three per cent of all girls out of school in the world live in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and East Asia and the Pacific. The latest UNICEF global figures, which include both girls' attendance and enrolment, show that 70 countries have rates of less than 85 per cent. This highlights the need for urgent, targeted action. Most countries reduced the gender enrolment gap in secondary education during the 1990s.

The countries with the smallest proportion of girls enrolling in secondary school are, with the exception of Bhutan, all in sub-Saharan Africa; in Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Niger, Somalia and the United Republic of Tanzania the gross enrolment rate is under 10 per cent. This region also has few female teachers - less than one in four in some countries · though even here the proportion of female teachers is increasing. In two thirds of the Arab states women now make up at least half of teachers, while in Latin America and the Caribbean they account for 80 per cent of staff.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in other countries in the Central and Eastern European region and throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, issues related to girls' education constitute a 'hidden crisis'. Since there are good attendance and enrolment rates among girls, their education is not seen as a concern, even though reports on the increasing number of girls who drop out of school, especially in rural areas, are an indication that a serious problem exists.

In the past decade, enrolment rates in some countries in the Central and Eastern European region have decreased considerably at all levels from preprimary to secondary . Moreover, parity in enrolment does not equate to parity in education, which also includes

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completion and learning achievement. In many cases, countries might show no enrolment gap between boys and girls but a serious gap in learning achievements, reflecting a difference in the quality of education received by girls and boys.

In Serbia and Montenegro, although general statistics are not alarming, data show that girls who are discriminated against due to poverty, developmental disorders or ethnic background (like the Roma) suffer a double disadvantage when it comes to access to education. Their drop-out rate is reported to be up to 80 per cent higher than that of boys.

In Azerbaijan, a survey conducted in 2002 revealed a gender gap in learning achievement in terms of literacy, numeracy and life skills among children leaving primary school. While all of the boys passed the literacy test, only 52 per cent of the girls passed. All boys passed the numeracy exam, while only 52 per cent of girls were successful. All boys were successful in a life skills test, while only 72 per cent of girls passed. Clearly, participation in education itself is not necessarily an empowering activity. Stereotypes can actually be reinforced by participating in a system where traditional gender roles are being taught, lowering girls' sense of their own potential and their learning achievement.

Even when girls' enrolment and completion rates are higher than those of boys', girls may not advance beyond primary and secondary education, women are not found in leadership roles, and qualified women too often still earn less than men. The challenge for the countries Yet, even in the face of these barriers, girls and boys will come to school when fees are removed. This certainly has been the case in Kenya. Since January 2003, more than 1.

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3 million children entered school for the first time under its free primary education policy. This has pushed the national primary school enrolment from 5. 9 million to 7. 2 million pupils. Similar experiences were reported in Malawi, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The jump in enrolment in Kenya has come with challenges. The Ayany school has witnessed an increase in enrolment over 100 per cent and, like many others throughout the country, found itself with too few desks, not enough stationery and little equipment. Classrooms built for 35 pupils were now crowded with more than 70. In response, the Child-Friendly Primary School Initiative, a joint project of UNICEF and the Kenyan Ministry of Education begun in 2002, sought to improve school quality.

The goal was to have children who entered school stay until they acquired basic primary-level competencies. The World Bank, UK Department for International Development and UNICEF provided textbooks. Other educational materials and recreational equipment were supplied. This enabled those teachers who were trained in 2002 to convert basic Standard One classrooms into stimulating learning environments.

The stimulating class is really exciting for both the children and the teachers. We have so far witnessed fewer dropout rates as parents enrol more of as much as 43 per cent of Japanese town and village budgets. More recently, the spectacular economic growth and poverty reduction seen in many East Asian countries in the last quarter of the 20th century has been attributed in good part to sustained investment in education. If the spirit of the Millennium Declaration and the targets of the Millennium Development Goals are to be met - and the

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education goals are only one part of the picture - it is clear that governments in developing countries will have to bear the lion's share of the responsibility.

Many are already investing more in human development than ever before, but across the board there has not been the major shift of resources into education that is required. Only eight developing that have achieved gender parity is to identify ways to expand the family and societal perception and expectations of girls' capacity- such as a push for greater participation in tertiary education and more leadership roles. These countries are ready for the societal transformation to help them make the leap and to further advance girls' participation in society.

None of the world's wealthier countries developed without making a significant investment in education. For example, Japan's emergence as a major economic power in the first half of the 20th century is attributed by many to the emphasis it placed on education and literacy. In 1990, both at the Jomtien Conference and the World Summit for Children, donor countries promised extra funds for education. In 1996, they made an additional commitment to ensure universal primary education by the year 2015. Instead, total aid flows to developing countries actually declined during the 1990s, from a peak of $60. 6 billion in 1991 to $49. 6 billion in 2000, a reduction of 18 per cent. No one could doubt that the greatest need in this period lay in sub- Saharan Africa, yet total development assistance to the region shrank by 14 per cent in real terms between 1990 and 2000, at the same time that aid to the East Asian region grew.

Bilateral funding for education has plummeted even further, with a general decline throughout the decade

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followed by a dramatic cut in 2000 that left aid at $3. 5 billion - a full 30 per cent lower than in 1990. World Bank International Development Association loans to education, which averaged $0. 9 billion per year from 1990 to 1996, averaged only $0. 6 billion between 1997 and 2001,a cut of 33 per cent.

There are recent, tentatively hopeful, signs that the climate for development assistance is changing, partly as a direct result of the commitments represented by the Millennium Development Goals. A new consensus on investing in education emerged at the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico in 2002, and education forms a vital part of the 'World Fit for Children' commitments made at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children that same year. Governments, including those in the G-8, have pledged to increase their overall aid, particularly their aid to basic education.

The World Bank has launched the Fast-Track Initiative - a venture that could help transform the Education For All landscape. But pledges and promises are not always realized. The current global preoccupation with security may result in some funding commitments being abandoned. As it stands, the low level of international assistance represents part of the problem of keeping girls out of school rather than the key part of the solution it must become if all children are to enjoy their right to an education.

2.2. Effects of Educating Girls

The benefits of educating girls are long established. But there is new understanding as to why educating girls is

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the most urgent task facing the global development community and how girls' education can drive the international efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Girls' education is the most effective means of combating many of the most profound challenges to human development. Education is vital in emergencies, following a disaster or when a country is in conflict, contributing stability to the lives of girls and boys and helping families to heal and look forward. For communities, the strategies for providing girls the opportunities to complete their education yield benefits for all.

Education systems the world over have paid a heavy price for the failure of governments to invest in children's earliest years. Like health systems worldwide that struggle desperately to cure illness and disease instead of investing in prevention, teachers and educational experts have wrestled with illiteracy, school avoidance and underachievement - forever playing catchup with problems that would have been significantly reduced if sufficient attention had been paid to children's first years of life.

The neglect of children's early years is by no means confined to education. UNICEF's experience shows that the survival, growth and development of young children are interdependent objectives, achievable only through universal access to a broad range of basic services. Preventing iodine deficiency and anaemia, for example, will improve a child's health and nutrition - and it will also protect a child's early brain development. Efforts to protect children from violence and abuse will also ensure sound early cognitive development.

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Ensuring that a woman is empowered, healthy and well educated - a good unto itself - can have a dramatic and positive effect on the well-being of her children, since if she is sickly, hungry or oppressed she is unlikely to nurture her children adequately. From the understanding that learning begins at birth comes the belief that it can be promoted by a secure attachment and responsive interaction between baby and parents or caregivers. In addition, children's healthy development depends on their interactions beyond their own family, with research suggesting that structured care outside the home can be particularly important in preparing a child for school.

A recent study of children in Nepal showed that over 90 per cent of those who had attended a non-formal pre-school facility enrolled in primary school, compared with some 70 per cent of those who had not. More tellingly still, in grade 2 around 80 per cent of the first group were still in school, but only around 40 per cent of the non-pre-school group were attending. The rhythm of schooling The same Nepalese study showed that girls benefit even more than boys: 100 per cent of the girls who had experienced non-formal pre-school care enrolled in primary school, 85 per cent of whom were still attending grade

There are many possible reasons why girls in particular benefit from pre-school programmes. These benefits include enhanced self-esteem and the raising of their family's aspirations. Yet one reason that is seldom recognized is that such programmes establish the rhythm of schooling in a young girl's life. In most communities in the developing world, particularly in rural areas, girls are introduced to simple household chores and minor income-generating tasks from a very early age. These

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tasks gradually become routine, establishing an everyday rhythm in the child's life. Soon, such tasks take up most of the child's day, at which point it becomes difficult to introduce schooling into the routine.

Participation in community-based care, however, establishes a different rhythm, making the idea of regular attendance at a particular time less foreign and daunting. Even spending a few hours each day with a grandparent can help book a place for schooling in a girl's life. Early childhood programmes can be a vital resource for young women as well as their daughters, and not only because they relieve mothers of their childcare responsibilities.

One such project serving Albanian mothers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, many of them refugees, has successfully improved participants' parenting skills in ways that will support the physical, emotional and cognitive development of their children. The programme has encouraged women to read and talk more to their children and to encourage their investigative play and learning; it has helped the women realize their responsibilities as parents and their vital role in child development. In Albania, the Gardens of Mothers and Children community project run by the Christian Children's Fund has successfully mobilized girls who were unemployed and isolated in their homes. The girls work as volunteers who care for, entertain and help educate pre-school-age children.

2.2.1. *Prevention for HIV/AIDS*

Over 5 million people each year are newly infected with HIV/AIDS. Human development gains painstakingly accrued over generations have been wiped out in a matter of a few years in the worst-affected countries. In

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Botswana, for example, due to the high HIV-infection level, life expectancy plummeted from 60 years in 1990 to just 39 years in 2001. And unless global prevention efforts are significantly expanded, 45 million people in 126 low- and middle-income countries will be infected between 2002 and 2010.

In the absence of a vaccine against HIV/AIDS, education is society's best defence against the disease. The more educated and skilled young people are, the more likely they are to protect themselves from infection; and those who are in school spend less time in risky situations. And girls, who have traditionally had less access to the benefits of education, have an even greater need than boys for the protection that education can provide.

Recent studies confirm that better-educated people have lower rates of infection. A study of 15- to 19-year-olds in Zambia found a marked decline in HIV-prevalence rates among those with a medium to higher level of education but an increase among those with lower educational levels. During the 1990s, the HIV-infection rate in Zambia fell by almost half among educated women, but there was little decline for women without any formal schooling. A study of 17 countries in Africa and 4 in Latin America showed that better-educated girls tended to delay having sex and were more likely to require their partners to use condoms.

The best school-based defence against HIV/AIDS addresses the issue as part of comprehensive life skills programmes, established as a core part of the mainstream curriculum. These offer young people gender-specific information on HIV and on the steps they can take to prevent infection's spread. The programmes train them to

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analyse situations critically, challenge gender stereotypes, communicate effectively and make responsible decisions. These skills enhance their abilities to make healthy choices, resist negative pressures and avoid risky behaviour. This is particularly vital for girls, who are more easily infected with HIV during sex than boys.

Life skills programmes also incorporate instruction on health, hygiene and nutrition. Poor nutrition and limited access to safe water and sanitation can compromise the immune system and increase vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and other illnesses. In addition, schools develop a practical link with youth-friendly, gender-sensitive health services that offer voluntary and confidential HIV testing and counselling. The fight against HIV/AIDS then - just like that for girls' education - is multifaceted, and progress on one front cannot be divorced from progress on another.

2.2.2. *HIV/AIDS in Children*

There are an estimated 11 million children orphaned by AIDS in sub-Saharan Africaand these are often the first children to lose the support of extended families for their attending school. Orphans losing both parents are even less likely to attend school . Girls lose out even more than boys because the burden of care for sick relatives falls disproportionately on them. In many families, HIV-related illnesses and consequent lost earnings make sending a child to school impossibly expensive.

Schools are also suffering due to the illness and deaths of many teachers from HIV/AIDS. In Zambia, around three quarters of the new teachers trained each year are needed to replace those who have died of AIDS. In Malawi, meanwhile, pupil/teacher ratios in some

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schools swelled to 96 to 1 due to HIV-related illnesses among teachers. The irony is that school reforms prompted by the HIV/AIDS pandemic often usher in precisely the measures that might otherwise be demanded in the interests of educational quality and child rights. Examples of such reforms include: making school schedules more flexible; holding schools responsible for safeguarding children against sexual harassment; enforcing laws protecting girls from rape and sexual abuse; and empowering children so that they are able to avoid risky behaviour.

In Botswana, which has one of the highest HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rates in the world, and where girls are four times more likely to become infected than boys, the Government is developing and implementing gender-sensitive HIV/AIDS prevention strategies. Some of the strategies include training teachers from hundreds of primary and junior secondary schools on how to run gender-sensitive prevention clubs. There are also plans to prepare hundreds of girls and boys aged 6 to 12 to be peer facilitators in such clubs.

A school improvement project is strengthening life skills education and making schools more gender-sensitive, child-friendly and responsive to children's psychosocial needs. In Namibia, students aged 14 to 21 are being prepared to educate their peers on ways to protect themselves from pregnancy, HIV/AIDS infection, substance abuse and rape. Schools now being targeted have reported a decline in the number of pregnancies and dropouts.

2.2.3. *Protective Environment*

After families, education is the next perimeter of a

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protective environment for children. Schools can be a powerful protective force in most children's lives, especially for girls and others who are highly vulnerable. This is not only because schools physically remove children from potential harm for much of the day but also because they help children learn skills and gather information so that they can protect themselves.

Education remains a key safeguard preventing child labour and helping to combat the sexual exploitation and trafficking of children, which mainly threatens girls. A girl who is in school is less likely to be drawn into exploitative forms of work outside the home - and is also drawn away from domestic duties that may be excessive. Girls who are literate, and particularly those who have gained greater confidence through life skills training, are less vulnerable to the extreme forms of intrafamily violence, sexual exploitation and trafficking. The millions of children who are exploited each year are living proof of the world's systemic failure to protect its youngest citizens.

According to the International Labour Organization, every year an estimated 1. 2 million children are trafficked into forced labour or prostitution. A recent UNICEF survey of households in 25 sub-Saharan African countries indicated that 31 per cent of children aged between 5 and 14 are engaged in the unconditional worst forms of child labour that should be eliminated, such as slavery, trafficking, and forced recruitment for the purposes of armed conflict, prostitution and pornography; and that 9 per cent are engaged in hazardous work, that is, working more than 43 hours a week in labour that threatens their well-being.

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In the countries surveyed, there are an estimated 31 million child workers, 24 million child labourers and 7 million children involved in hazardous work. More girls were found to be engaged in hazardous work than boys because household chores of more than four hours per day were taken into account. Ultimately children will only be free from child labour, trafficking and sexual exploitation when:

— Governments make child protection a priority

— Discriminatory attitudes and practices towards children are challenged and changed by the media and civil society

— Laws are in place and reliably enforced

— Teachers, health workers, parents and all those who interact with children know how to recognize and respond to child abuse

— Children are given the information and knowledge they need to protect themselves

– Adequate monitoring systems are in place to document or highlight the incidence of abuses

— Gender equality and women's rights are ensured.

In Bangladesh since 1997, schools for the hard to reach, using the BRAC model, run for two hours each day, six days a week, and are drawing in children such as girls living-in as domestic workers, who would otherwise have no chance to receive a basic education. In Morocco, according to a 2001 survey by the Ministry of Economic Provision and Planning, about 23,000 girls were employed as maids in the Grand Casablanca region, some 60 per cent of them under 15. Since 2001, in partnership with local non-governmental organizations,

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and supported by the Wilaya of Casablanca, UNICEF has helped these girls receive an education and basic health care. This intersectoral programme also seeks to eradicate the problem at its root by publicizing the harsh reality of these girls' lives.

Education is not a luxury item that is only to be ensured in an emergency once other elements are in place; it should be given priority and started as soon as possible. Girls are especially vulnerable in emergency situations - and they must be especially protected against physical, sexual and psychological abuse. This means establishing safe environments in which girls as well as boys can learn, play and receive psychosocial support.

The goal is to create a child-friendly space, a concept that was developed during 1999 in response to the Kosovo crisis, the earthquake in Turkey and the violence in what was then East Timor (now Timor-Leste). Since then, the concept has been applied through the Learning Tree Initiative in several other conflict situations, such as in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Programmes include vocational training, teacher training for psychosocial support, school books and benches, and, in the case of Guinea, building a school.

In Liberia, the Support to War Affected Youth project aims to catalyse the leadership potential of 10,000 Liberian youth by ensuring access to basic education and social services. Using art, sport and recreation as entry points for recruitment, the programme now includes HIV/AIDS prevention and integrated child development services for children of teenaged mothers enrolled in vocational training programmes. Amid the chaos and trauma of an emergency situation it is still possible to put children's rights first; in some circumstances it can even

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be a window of opportunity to meet previously unmet needs.

Within the refugee settlement a safe area is set up in which tents or other temporary structures are erected in a broadly circular pattern, with a water point and a space for play in the centre, and zones for schooling (both pre and primary), mother-support, and provision of primary health care and psychosocial support on the outside. A child-friendly, gender-sensitive space makes it possible for:

— All schoolchildren to continue their respective school cycles

— Parents to undertake their own activities knowing that their children are in a caring, safe environment

— Young mothers to spend private time with their infants and receive counselling necessary for their healthy development

— Mothers and young women to continue their own education

— Young people to be trained as service providers for children.

In southern Sudan, which has been blighted by civil war for decades, to wait for an end to the conflict would be to dismiss the rights of generations of children. UNICEF, working with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army in areas it controls, is trying to address the dire educational position of children: As few as 15 per cent of primary-school-aged children in southern Sudan are in school, and girls represent only one quarter of this number. By the time the upper primary level is reached, there are hardly any girls left in school and at the

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territory's foremost secondary school, Rumbek, there is a solitary girl. Only 560 of the 8,000 teachers in southern Sudan are women, a mere 7 per cent.

Efforts to get more girls into school also benefit the development of whole communities. For example, it has long been recognized that if a poverty-stricken household is forced to choose which children it can afford to send to school, girls will often lose out. Yet education-prompted measures designed to address this disparity by boosting household income benefit the whole family and the local community - particularly if the extra income is channelled towards the mother, who is more likely than the father to invest it in the needs of children and the family.

Similarly, girls tend to suffer more from poor nutrition; in families with scant resources they are often given substantially less food than boys. Thus girls benefit even more than boys from school-feeding programmes. Malawi's school-feeding programme, considered a particularly important factor in keeping girls in school, currently reaches about 160,000 children in eight districts. Such programmes - along with accompanying messages about healthy eating - can also trigger better nutrition practices within families, thereby improving the health and well-being of the whole community.

Safe water and sanitation is another key area in which the whole community can benefit when a 'gender lens' is applied to education. The absence of safe water and separate toilets can be a major reason why girls never attend school - or drop out of school, particularly at puberty. Providing adequate sanitation facilities has, as a result, assumed a much higher priority within girls' education programmes. The drive to get more girls into

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school, then, can transform the quality of life in a local community, which may have for years made do with polluted, distant water sources or no sanitation at all.

In the Lao People's Democratic Republic, for example, the lack of access to water and sanitation is a major factor influencing poor school attendance and learning. More than a fifth of girls nationwide are not enrolled in school and in some areas the rate is more than 50 per cent. The issue is not just the lack of facilities in schools, but their absence in the wider community. Unhealthy children cannot go to school as often as they should and do not learn as effectively when they are there. Infection by parasites that consume nutrients and thereby aggravate malnutrition and retard development is particularly high in Lao PDR, affecting as much as 62 per cent of children in some regions.

In addition, the household chore of fetching water falls mainly to girls, who can spend as much as two hours a day on the activity, using up one third of their daily caloric intake in the process. Even those who make it to school may be sent by their teachers to fetch water, further impeding their learning. To address this issue, the Ministries of Health and Education have focused on primary schools and surrounding communities in eight remote and poor provinces. New water points and latrines are being constructed in schools and surrounding villages; deworming activities are being carried out; and a hygiene-education campaign is being launched, mobilizing not just teachers but also children as hygiene promoters within their communities. The project will reach 300 schools and 70,000 pupils, providing access to safe water and sanitation for 18,000 families in 350 communities.

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Girls' education is a dream investment for any Head of Government prepared to look beyond the immediate and usual solutions to the problems of development. Far from depriving other social development sectors, financing girls' education adds value to their work. It eases the strain on the health-care system by reducing both child and maternal mortality, by keeping children healthier and by reducing the incidence of HIV/AIDS. It increases women's skills and productivity, thereby reducing poverty and strengthening the economy in the long term. The intimate connection between girls' education and other areas of development means, for example, that a single expenditure on supplying safe water and sanitation to a school has a double benefit: improving community health and hygiene and attracting more girls to school.

Development Goal for education - universal primary education completion by 2015 - range between $9. 1 billion and $38 billion per year. Associated with the $38 billion estimated by the World Bank, most of which would be borne by developing countries themselves, is a $5 billion to $7 billion funding gap that would need to be filled by external aid. Between now and 2015 it might mean an additional aid bill of around $60 billion. This is a considerable sum, but it is substantially less than the cost of largescale military operations for which, it seems, money can always be found. The practical barriers are also surmountable.

There is practically no problem in education that does not have a solution already tried and tested elsewhere. The benefits attached to girls' education are unarguable, and the strategies and specific measures that can make a difference are well known. They have been applied in projects and programmes all over the world

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Years of experience have resulted in a more sophisticated understanding of exactly what kind of girls' education initiative works and what kind does not.

Evaluations in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, have shown that a gender approach cannot simply be grafted on to an existing education programme. Wherever this has been tried, the existing programme has proved impervious to change. Girls' education projects have to be designed as such from the start and have to be backed by commitments from both government and programme planners. Girls' education programmes must have three clear goals: reducing the total number of girls out of school; improving the quality of education for girls and boys alike; and ensuring progress in learning achievement for all children.

Weaving together interventions that address access with those that address quality helps fulfil the need to find excluded and at-risk children, especially girls, get them into school and ensure that they stay, learn and achieve in a safe and productive environment. Such interventions help ensure that education systems deliver results efficiently for all children. The case of Afghanistan shows what is possible when the international community is seriously committed to tackling a crisis. It dramatizes what can be done when multiple factors - children's hunger to learn, parents' dreams for their children, a national government's readiness to lead and the international community's willingness to help - come together.

Starved of education throughout decades of conflict, particularly during the Taliban era, the hunger of Afghan families for their children's chance to go to school was overwhelming. UNICEF's role in equipping them with

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educational materials in emergency conditions was the largest such operation ever undertaken by the organization.

The 65 million girls out of school globally will never commandeer the world's attention in the same way as a war. They will not be rescued by tanks rolling through the desert. Screaming headlines about their plight will not boost media ratings or the circulation of daily newspapers. Their lost potential will not show up in front page photos to prick the conscience of the comfortable. But their plight is an emergency nonetheless. Governments, aid agencies and international institutions must take practical steps to rescue them with as much urgency as if all 65 million were stranded in the mountains above a war zone, with TV cameras rolling. Together, leaders from all levels of society must:

1. *Include girls' education as an essential component of development efforts*: Core human rights principles must inform economic development and poverty-reduction programmes, and the rights of girls must be explicitly protected. If governments, international financial institutions, and bilateral and multilateral aid organizations applied social justice principles to development programmes, the outcome would be better for all of society - especially its most marginalized members.

   — Public services have to be protected when economic crisis hits or national policy changes so that girls' rights to education, health, food and security are not infringed.

   — Equal opportunity is not enough. We must focus on 'equality of outcome', ensuring that all children, girls and boys alike, obtain the same high-quality education.

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— The right of children and their families to participate in the decisions that affect their lives must be respected. Their opinions must be taken into account in public matters affecting them, such as budget allocations for education and related development decisions. Girls must have equal opportunities and be equally prepared for the kind of meaningful participation that is vital to democratic governance.

2. *Create a national ethos for girls' education*: A national ethos of 'no girl out of school' must be created, so that communities are as scandalized and concerned about the girls kept at home and out of school as they are about the boys and girls more visibly exploited at work. Creating this ethos requires a widespread civiceducation campaign, explaining the benefits of girls' education to the family and to society. Every sector of society must be brought on board, from politicians to parents, from the private sector to the mass media. Governments should be held accountable for getting and keeping girls in school. To this end:

— The number of out-of-school girls must be routinely and publicly reported - and considered a matter of national concern as urgent as rising unemployment rates.

— Countries should consider introducing an education tax or commodities surcharge to be used exclusively to get girls or boys into school until gender parity is achieved.

— Governments should do an inventory of successful projects in their countries, bring these to national scale, and audit their effectiveness in having girls complete a basic education.

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3. *Allow no school fees of any kind*: School is not an optional add-on, to be funded if and when the economy improves - it is a human right. When education systems work on this principle they will go the extra mile to guarantee schooling to the most marginalized and disadvantaged, the majority of whom are most always girls. Primary school must be free, universal and compulsory, and parents must have a choice in the kind of education their children receive. All school fees and charges for primary school must be immediately abolished. When parents have to pay for their children's schooling, Education For All becomes impossible and girls lose out even more than boys. Education must be embraced as the right of every child.

4. *Think both outside and inside the 'education box'*: Education in general - and girls' education in particular - must be completely integrated into each country's poverty reduction strategy or other relevant national plans for poverty reduction. Programmes that work must be scaled up. Girls' schooling can and should be promoted by actions such as:

   — Anti-discrimination laws and policies that protect girls and women

   — HIV/AIDS prevention programmes that focus on girls and women

   — Early childhood programmes that treat boys and girls equally and address the issue of gender roles and relations

   — Investment in water and sanitation for homes and schools

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— Efforts to reduce violence in communities and protect children from exploitation and abuse, with special attention to the situation of girls. At the same time, investment in education should be based on the abundant evidence of the positive results in schools when there are:

a. Increased opportunities for girls' participation, including in sports, cultural activities, civic affairs and school government

b. Incentive packages and financial assistance for families who send and keep their girls in school, and actively contribute to improving their performance

c. Teachers trained in child rights and gender sensitive classroom techniques

d. Teachers receiving a regular, living wage

e. Parents empowered in the management and support of schools; involving them in parentteacher associations; and giving them assistance to create a better learning environment in the home and to project a positive expectation of their children's achievement.

5. Establish schools as centres of community development: Schools and less-formal learning spaces should become more than places for lessons and skillbuilding; they should become centres of community participation and development. UNICEF's experience in conflict and emergency situations has shown education's power to transform tragedy and chaos into healing and hope, as it restores structure to young lives, rehabilitates their spirit, and offers understanding to children facing futures that are, at best, uncertain.

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Similarly, the HIV/AIDS pandemic brings home the lessons of education's role in an emergency. Schools have proven to be the most efficient and cost-effective means of protecting children and young people from HIV infection. This fact alone presents a strong case for schools as the centre of efforts to combat the spread of the disease and mitigate its impact. Just as schools must become flexible enough to meet the needs of all children, whether they are girls traditionally excluded from education or children living on the streets, they must also address the growing number of children orphaned and made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS.

It is education that can best empower children and young people - particularly orphans and girls most vulnerable to the disease - with the knowledge they need to protect themselves and their communities, and help them acquire the knowledge and skills needed to build a better future. And it is education that can unravel the discrimination and ignorance that perpetuate the spread of HIV/AIDS. Thus, education should become the centre of work around HIV/AIDS and other threats to the survival of children and young people.

6. *Integrate strategies*: Integrated strategies are required to confront the multifaceted barriers to girls' education. This should occur at three levels: investments, policies and institutions; service delivery; and in conceptual frameworks, namely those of the economic and human rights approaches.

   a. *Investment, policy and institutional initiatives*: It is not enough to allocate financial resources for certain goals without addressing policies that might

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hinder their effectiveness. Building more schools will have limited impact if user fees and other barriers continue to prevent enrolment. In the same way, available resources are most productive when the policy and institutional environment encourages their use. Decentralization, for example, as well as legal reforms, partnerships and participation all improve resource effectiveness.

b. *Service delivery*: Effective coordination of services in education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation - especially in the delivery of such services - can improve programme effectiveness. At the community level, for example, a school committee can be the focal point for immunization, nutrition and sanitation interventions as well as for those services more directly related to education.

c. *Conceptual frameworks*: Generally, economic frameworks are used to prepare investment, policy or institutional tools. When these tools are based entirely on economic principles they prove ineffective in delivering programme objectives to the poorest and most marginalized individuals. However, when the economic approach is informed by human rights principles, programmes for poverty reduction, social development and disparity reduction become far more effective.

7. *Increase international funding for education*: All industrialized countries should direct 10 per cent of official aid to basic education, with programmes that benefit girls as their priority. They can achieve this by making good on their commitment made at the International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico to move swiftly towards giving at least 0. 7 per cent of gross national

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product in aid, and at least 0. 15 per cent to the least developed countries. Extend the Fast-Track Initiative to cover more countries and guarantee swift funding for their needs.

All countries that have qualified for fasttrack help in their pursuit of Education For All must urgently receive the financial assistance they have been promised by donor governments. The Initiative should be expanded to include all governments that demonstrate a serious commitment to the goal of universal primary education. Unless the world focuses its attention on the 2005 target date for girls' education, the Millennium Development Goals for 2015 are going to slide by, unrealized. Unless the international community acts now, another generation of girls will be lost to ignorance, abuse, exploitation and HIV/AIDS - and, in a future that is nearer than we would think, we will later lose millions of their young children to unnecessary deaths, avoidable malnutrition and disease and squandered human potential.

Girls' education is an arena in which we do not have to wait for science; we know very well what is needed and what works. The Millennium Development Goals are under threat; investing in girls' education will put us on track to meet them. Development is faltering; girls' education will give it new momentum. Millions of children are affected by HIV/AIDS; gender-sensitive schools can become havens of care and comfort. The rights of children around the world are abused daily and systematically; ensuring the rights of girls to an education is the bridge to safety and protection for all children. We cannot walk any deeper into the 21st century with this piece of 20th century business still unfinished.

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3

Girls' and Women's Education

The World Declaration on Education For All, Jomtien 1990 was an important milestone in the march towards universal elementary education and girls' and women's access to basic education. Forty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this conference tugged our conscience by reminding the world that everyone has a right to education - Basic education is more than an end in itself, it is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development.

Everyone has a right to education, which shall be directed to the full development of human resources, and human dignity and potential, with particular attention to women and the girl child. Education should be designed to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including those related to population and development. The very fact that a population conference forced the international community to look into the inter-linkages between population, poverty, gender inequality and development, was a major departure from the past.

Women's and girls' education was placed centre stage in the struggle for human development and social justice in the Copenhagen declaration on social

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development in 1995. Both economic and social terms, the most productive policies and investments are those that empower people to maximise their capacities, resources and opportunities. The Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995, reaffirmed the commitments made by governments and called upon the international community to intensify efforts. Four important world conferences, one after another, bombarded our world with messages of equality, empowerment, human rights and universal access to the tools of knowledge - i. e. education.

While cynics in all societies may brush aside the impact of such international agreements, it is widely acknowledged that, as a result of intensive advocacy, girls' and women's education has been accepted as a developmental priority. Availability of international development assistance for basic education and women's education (especially in India) has gone up significantly. More importantly, there has been a noticeable change in Government and donor perceptions of gender issues in education and the importance of reaching out to girls in order to achieve the goal of universal elementary education.

Successive Human Development Reports brought out by the United Nations forced political leaders and administrators to acknowledge the inherent value of education in building capabilities of people to survive with dignity. Donors supporting education programmes in the developing world flagged the gender agenda. This environment coupled with the realisation of the importance of sustained advocacy resulted in a virtual explosion of data, case studies, reports and conferences on girls' and women's education.

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The popular media has also started paying some attention to glaring gender disparities in educational access and achievement. All these contributed in no small measure to creating an environment for introspection and change. The climate is right to pool all our energies and push hard to ensure that policy level commitment of the Government is translated into action - i. e. bridging the gap between intention and action. We are at a very critical juncture in India. We are at a point when sustained pressure to ensure universal access to and retention in schools and enhancing the quality and content of education at all levels may actually bear fruit.

A well known educationist commented that even in a very gender iniquitous society like Rajasthan families no longer need to be convinced of the importance of sending their girls to school. Wherever accessible and good quality educational facilities are provided, girls come in large numbers. Most recently, workers in Lok Jumbish Rajasthan were pleasantly surprised when young adolescent girls came forward on their own to ask for education, albeit through a condensed programme in a residential camp. Despite the recent fund flow problemsthe community has come forward to continue village based educational activities. The tragedy is not that people are not convinced about the importance of education for their daughters; the tragedy is that they want to send their daughters to school, but cannot do so because problems of access, quality and content remain unresolved.

In the early 1990s the then Director in-charge of women and child development in Rajasthan lamented over the inability of the system to absorb girls. After an intensive girls enrolment campaign, workers in the

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Women's Development Programme were astounded when teachers discouraged girls, especially from backward/poor communities from coming to school. The single teacher schools were only able to cope with about 30-40 children. The sad truth is that if all children, boys and girls, were to start attending school one fine morning, the existing system would not be able to cope with it. The Joint UN System programme for community based education has estimated a shortfall of 1. 50 million teachers if every child were to attend school, at a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:40. Government of India estimates a shortfall of 925,000 teachers.

India has made progress in education, but not enough and definitely not at a pace we would have like to see. Even after half a century after India attained independence, almost sixty percent of girls/women are not literate. Most of them have never been to school or any other education programme. Recent surveys (even those done after the launching of Total Literacy Campaigns) do not reveal any dramatic change. Census of India was collected in 1990-91, the Human Development Survey was done in 1993-94, and the National Sample Survey was also done in 1993-94.

Small surveys and studies done in some pockets across the country do not show any radical difference. For example intensive school mapping done under the Lok Jumbish Project in Rajasthan reveal that real enrolment in Class I is likely to be 70 to 75 per cent of what is reported (in official data). People working with adult women report that if a person says he or she can sign his/her name; they are recorded as literate. Therefore, at least 10 to 15 per cent of literate people may actually be functionally illiterate. How many children in

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the 6-14 age group are really not in school? Estimates vary from 60 million, 61 million (NFHS, 1993-94) to 77 million (NSS, 1993-94). It can be reasonably assumed that 70 per cent of our-of-school children are girls.

Census data on age specific attendance (Table 2 and 3) in education programmes captures a disturbing picture. It is quite evident from the table that there are significant rural-urban differences. Age is another significant factor. Combination of the two is quite disastrous. Only 30. 2 per cent of girls (5-9 age group) and 44. 6 per cent of girls (10-14 age group) are attending any education programme in rural India. As we move up the age ladder, it is quite alarming to note that only 18. 0 and 3. 0 per cent of adolescent girls and women in the age group 15-19 and 20-24 respectively are attending any educational programme in rural India. The urban scenario is slightly better with 46. 1 and 11. 6 per cent of girls in the age groups of 15-19 and 20-24 attending any educational programme.

Table 1. Literacy rates in select states, 1991 and 1994

	% Literate – (Age 7+) Rural and Urban 1991 Census		% Literate – 1994 (Age &+) Rural Only HDI / NCAER	
State	Male	Female	Male	Female
Haryana	67.85	40.94	69.4	38.1
Himachal Pradesh	74.57	52.46	79.4	57.0
Punjab	63.68	49.72	68.2	51.2
Bihar	52.63	23.10	56.6	28.8
Uttar Pradesh	55.35	26.02	62.0	28.3
Madhya Pradesh	57.43	28.39	58.9	27.1
Orissa	62.37	34.40	67.8	40.7
Rajasthan	55.07	20.84	60.4	19.0

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West Bengal	67.24	47.15	66.3	49.9
Gujarat	72.54	48.50	71.3	46.7
Maharashtra	74.84	50.51	70.9	45.1
Andhra Pradesh	56.24	33.71	60.6	39.1
Karnataka	67.25	44.34	65.1	43.9
Kerala	94.45	86.93	93.0	86.5
Tamil Nadu	74.88	52.29	74.6	53.2
India	63.86	39.42	65.6	40.1

The ever enrolment ratio for rural girls in the 6-14 age group is only 64. 8 per cent. The Human Development Survey conducted by National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) in 1993-94 brought out the sharp disparities across social and economic groups, with girls' enrolment and retention in schools decreasing as household income and social status decreased. This picture is reinforced by the National Sample Survey conducted in July 1993-94 by the Department of Statistics, GOI. Gender disparities are evident in all age groups and are really marked in some regions of the country like Rajasthan.

Table 2: Attending any education programme by completed level of education, India, Compiled from Census, GOI 1991(stated in percentage)

	Total		Boys		Girls	
Age	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
0-4	0.4	1.8	0.4	1.9	0.4	1.7
5-9	34.4	54.5	38.4	56.0	30.2	52.9
10-14	56.2	77.6	66.6	81.1	44.6	73.8
15-19	30.2	51.8	40.8	56.8	18.0	46.1
20-24	7.7	17.2	12.5	22.3	3.0	11.6

It is indeed alarming to note that 49. 8 per cent of girls in the 5-9 age group and 35. 5 per cent of girls in the 10-14

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age group are not literate, and unfortunately, may not be attending any education programmes (even if they are enrolled) - formal or non-formal. The situation is indeed worrisome. Therefore, given the wealth of data generated by three recent national surveys it is quite apparent that enrolment rates coupled with school attendance rates give a very clear picture of the situation. The conventional enrolment (Table 3) and dropout rates distort the picture. It is now widely accepted that enrolment data is not very reliable and that the information on children dropping out is captured only at the terminal stage - i. e. Class V and Class VIII.

Table 3: Attending any education programme by completed level of education, Rajasthan Compiled from Census, GOI 1991 (stated in percentage)

	Total		Boys		Girls	
Age	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
0-4	0.4	2.4	0.5	2.4	0.3	2.1
5-9	24.3	52.9	32.7	52.9	14.9	44.8
10-14	45.0	81.1	66.0	81.8	20.9	62.5
15-19	26.2	59.7	42.7	59.7	6.3	38.1
20-24	6.2	22.7	11.1	2.7	1.4	8.7

Eventhough the enrolment ratios are not very reliable, it is obvious that when coupled with official dropout rates, the picture is as gloomy as school attendance rates discussed above. The dropout rate in classes I to V is 46. 74% for boys, 49. 69% for girls in 1992-93. There has not been a significant change in dropout rates in 1995-96. It was 37. 92% for boys, 41. 31% for girls for Class I-V and 54. 99% for boys and 61. 70% for girls for Class IVIII respectively.

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Table 4: Gross enrolment ratios in Class I-V and VI-VIII, years 1991-92 and 1992-93

	Class I-V			Class VI-VIII		
India / State	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
All India – 1991-92	95.90	106.20	85.02	59.07	69.62	47.91
All India – 1992-93	102.74	116.61	88.09	61.15	74.19	47.40
All India – 1995-96	104.30	114.50	93.30	67.60	79.50	54.90
Rajasthan – 1991-92	85.10	110.37	58.46	46.24	67.82	23.40
Rajasthan – 1992-93	79.06	106.67	50.05	44.93	65.93	22.61
Rajasthan – 1995-96	103.40	129.30	75.30	56.90	79.90	32.00

It is alarming to note that 35. 5 per cent of girls in the 10-14 age group 'and 45. 6 in the 15-19 age group are not literate in rural India. The urban picture is better, 26. 0 per cent of girls in the 10-14 age group and 15. 9 per cent of girls in the age group15-19 are not literate. A very small proportion of girls (and boys) became literate through Non-formal education and/or adult education programmes. Given that this data was collected after July 1993, when the TLC mission was in full swing, this revelation is indeed disturbing.

Less that 0. 5 per cent of young people in the 10-14 and 15-19 age groups reported going to NFE or AE centres. The proportion for higher age groups, i. e. 20 to 45 years having benefited from TLC in rural areas is 2 to 3 per thousand for men and 1 to 2 per thousand for women. The corresponding figures for Non-formal and adult education in rural areas are 3 to 4 per thousand for men and 2 to 4 per thousand for women. The urban scenario is not significantly different. One possible explanation could be that sample surveys, however representative they may be of general population, do not capture pockets of success.

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Notwithstanding the inherent limitation of sample surveys, there is substantial evidence to show that non-formal and adult education programmes cannot turn the tide. Unless every single child has the opportunity to go to school, and unless the government can ensure universal elementary education - there can be no significant improvement in the literacy and education scenario of India. If and when this becomes a reality, then non-formal and adult education, especially for adolescents and young adults, can make a qualitative difference.

Income and community specific data collected in the NSS survey and the HDI survey reveal sharp disparities. Poor rural girls and women from lowincome groups and from disadvantaged communities (Scheduled Class, Scheduled Tribe and some minority communities) constitute the bulk of the illiterate population. Current school attendance rates reveal that this situation is not likely to improve in the near future.

So where do we stand? Half a century after Independence we are nowhere near achieving universal elementary education. Almost fifty percent of the girls and women of India do not have the opportunity to acquire education, and even if they do enrol, chances are that the poorest and the most disadvantaged among them will drop out. This reinforces the popular myth that education plays a very marginal role in the battle for survival. It has been amply demonstrated that education can indeed become a powerful tool in women's struggle for equality and empowerment. The economic and social benefits of women's education are well known and need not be repeated. The question is how can the development community mount pressure on the Government and organisations in civil society to put

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resources (financial and human) to realise the goal of universal educational access for girls and women.

3.1. Policies and Implementation

Almost every conceivable strategy and approach has been covered in policy documents of the Government of India. All policy documents recognise that the first stumbling block is poverty, and that women from poor communities, especially in rural areas need special attention. The second stumbling block is social status, especially when considering children from disadvantaged communities (Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Tribes, some minority groups, nomadic tribe). While affirmative action in the form of reservation of jobs and places in institutions of higher learning have been provided, there is irrefutable evidence to show that the stumbling block is at the elementary level.

Children do not have access to good quality schools that can enable them to break out of existing stereotypes. Therefore, despite wellintentioned policies, children from disadvantaged groups and communities are not able to access good quality education at the primary level. The Seventh and Eighth Five Year Plan documents recognise that national developmental and demographic goals cannot be achieved unless women's education is taken up on a priority basis. All possible strategies, starting from flexible school timings to decentralised planning and administration have been recommended over and over again.

One of the arguments put forth by educational administrators is that serious efforts were really never made to implement some key recommendations like

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flexible school timings and appointing local people as teachers in primary schools. Some of these ideas have been tried out in pockets, especially in Rajasthan through Shiksha Karmi Project and Lok Jumbish. Flexible timings were also experimented in Madhya Pradesh. But, unfortunately they have remained essentially micro-level initiatives and have not been integrated into the mainstream. This phenomenon has compelled some commentators to ask if non-implementation of Governments own policy is because of lack of political will or because certain powerful vested interests are determined to ensure a significant section of our society remains illiterate and disempowered.

Therefore, many enlightened leaders are demanding the law of the land be enforced and that elementary education be made a fundamental and inalienable right. Making children's rights to primary education justiceable and enforceable in court of law could push basic education on the national agenda as never before. Simultaneously, making administrators accountable for implementation of Government's policies could, again, create a favourable condition. For example, District Collectors (Chief Executive Functionary of the Government in the District) should be made accountable. They should be made accountable for ensuring textbooks reach every primary school by the first working day of a new academic session, for review of presence of schools teachers (ensure no posts are vacant and leave vacancies reported), and for ensuring government incentives are distributed on schedule.

Scanning though documents of the Government from 1854 to the present, it is quite apparent that there is no dearth of policy recommendations. They are:

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— Provide schools within walking distance, closer to the place of dwelling, if necessary satellite schools for remote hamlets,

— Provide child care facilities/cràche within school premises,

— Provide escort for girls, if school is away from the village or hamlet,

— Introduce flexible school timings and region specific school calendar,

— Provide alternative modes / forms of schooling, combine formal with non-formal, condensed courses for drop-outs, residential schools (Ashram Shalas) for special focus groups like nomadic tribes etc. ,

— Appoint more women teachers in rural areas and provide them with secure residential accommodation. Expand pool of women teachers by lowering qualifications, providing intensive training (near the place of dwelling), providing regular educational support, organizing special condensed coursed for drop-outs who can be trained to work as teachers, providing secure accommodation for out-station teachers, etc.

— Make curriculum relevant to the lives of poor women who are engaged in battle for survival,

— Recognise the problem of working children, provide special facilities with flexible calendar and timings,

— Introduce facilities for "bridge programmes" to enable dropouts to re-enter the school system.

— Provide incentives like uniforms, textbooks, exercise books, attendance scholarship, free bus passes etc.

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— Involve the community in managing the school through advocacy, mobilisation and formation of village education committees with at least 50% women members,

— Improve quality of education, motivate teachers to make learning a joyful exercise,

— Decentralise educational planning and administration, bring it closer to people so that it reflects the special needs and aspirations of the community,

— Create village level education committees to plan, support, encourage and monitor basic education;

— Address management issues that inhibit the implementation of government policy, like grievance redressal, administrators and teachers union's resistance to flexible timings, school calendar, recruitment of women with lesser qualifications from rural areas, recruitment of local youth in remote areas where teacher absenteeism is rampant, appointment of teachers to a specific school and so on, and

— Mobilise public opinion for primary education and universal literacy in general and women's education in particular. Advocate for greater political will and administrative commitment.

— Make it a national mission with time-bound goals and targets through National Literacy Mission (NLM), District Primary Education Projects (DPEP) and National Elementary Education Mission (NEEM).

The National Policy on Education is perhaps the most lucid document on women's education. It was hailed as a major breakthrough in addressing gender issues in

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government policy. Education for Women's Equality states that: "Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past; there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions. This will be an act of faith and social engineering. . . The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring. . . . "

University teachers and students, school teachers, training institutions, NGOs, newspapers and a wide range of formal and informal groups/organisations were invited to comment on and debate India's new policy. This process was initiated in 1985 and continued for a year. The National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) sifted through, compiled and edited the recommendations made by a wide range of people across the country. This process was unprecedented in India and generated a great deal of enthusiasm for education in general.

The National Policy on Education was accepted by the Parliament in 1986. Due to political compulsions arising out of change of governments, this policy was debated again in 1992 and accepted with minor modifications. The section on Education for Women's Equality was brought forward from being Chapter IV of

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the 1986 Programme of Action to Chapter I in the 1992 version. The following rider was inserted: "Education for Women's Equality is too important to be left to the individual proclivities of persons in charge of implementation. It should be incumbent on all actors, agencies, and institutions in the field of education at all levels to be gender sensitive and ensure that women have their rightful share in all educational programmes and activities. . . "

The period from 1986 to 1991 was, perhaps, a very creative period in the history of basic education and women's education in India. Six new initiatives were launched by the government, namely: British ODA supported the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project and the Swedish aided the Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi project in 1987; Netherlands supported Mahila Samakhya - Education for Women's Equality in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat in 1988; UNICEF funded the Bihar Education Project and World Bank supported the Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project in 1990; and Swedish aided Rajasthan Lok Jumbish in 1992.

All these externally aided education projects explored alternative administrative mechanisms for flow of funds and administration. The Shiksha Karmi programme was the first to be administered through an autonomous body, the Shiksha Karmi Board. This, it was argued, provided the project the necessary flexibility to run a community based education programme while retaining the legitimacy and authority of a government department. Similar implementation mechanisms were adopted in all subsequent externally aided programmes. While basic education was opened up to external assistance, adult literacy remained a national commitment.

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In 1988-89 the Government of India launched the National Literacy Mission. As two of the motivation forces behind the programme Mr. Anil Bordia and former Director of the National Literacy Mission, Ms Anita Kaul, put it it was a multipronged programme aimed at the acquisition of literacy skills, social awareness, and functional development by the participants. As it consciously tried to move away from being identified with the government programme, it provided for greater participation of voluntary agencies. . . . Inherent structural deficiencies, coupled with inflexibility's of all kinds and at all levels - in the timing of the centres, in numbers enrolled, in the provision of funds, and in the bureaucratised, hierarchical attitudes - led to a situation where the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP), which had had a promising start, became another ineffective government programme.

That was not all, this period, i. e. 1986-1991 witnessed three other national initiatives to promote basic education, with a focus on greater participation of girls and women. Operation Blackboard was launched in 1987 with national resources. This programme focused on construction of school buildings and appointment of a second teacher in single teacher schools. The Non-Formal Education (NFE) initiative was also launched with government's own resources. Taking cue from the erstwhile NAEP, this scheme provided grant-in-aid to state governments and NGOs to start NFE centres for out-ofschool children.

One hundred per cent central funds were promised for NFE centres for girls. A similar scheme was also launched for innovations in elementary education. These two NGOs oriented schemes created space for innovation and experimentation. In 1991-92 there was intense

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speculation over the impact of Structural Adjustment loan on the social sectors. In particular, there was some apprehension about decreased government spending on elementary education. As a result of global advocacy on the harmful consequences of Structural Adjustment Policies, the World Bank and Government of India agreed on a Social Safety Net programme.

It was agreed that a certain proportion of the loan will be spent on the social sectors, namely basic education, primary health, public distribution of subsidised food grains and a national renewal fund for re-training of labour forced into unemployment. As a result of this agreement, the Government of India proposed the District Primary Education Project (DPEP) in 1992. This was envisaged as an intensive area specific and decentralised effort to revitalise the primary education system. This strategy was seen as an answer to criticism of a fragmented approach to basic education. DPEP, it was hoped, would provide multidimensional inputs in the same geographic area, thereby giving basic education a big push.

DPEP was formally launched in 1994 with the three corner stones of the programme being sustainability, equity and local ownership. Bridging the gender gap is subsumed in the equity agenda, alongside social and economic backwardness. Scanning though the documents produced by the DPEP bureau it is evident that one of the main thrusts of the programme is to simultaneously fix demand side and supply side issues. A recent document titled Three years of DPEP - assessment and challenges brought out in 1998 notes that successful community awareness and mobilisation campaigns under DPEP have contributed to significant accelerated increase in enrolment, especially of girls.

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Enrolment of girls has been higher in DPEP districts as compared to non-DPEP district. Gender and social inequities have reduced to a substantial level. The programme is still young and it remains to be seen whether the momentum reported in some pockets can be sustained. Sharp regional differences are also reported, with the relatively progressive states (with respect to women's education) doing much better that the gender iniquitous states. With the exception of DPEP and the UP Basic Education Programme (now subsumed in DPEP), all the other externally assisted projects are run with the help of bilateral aid and in the case of the Joint UN System project which is funded by the UN System.

The Government, through its own resources, funds all the national initiatives mentioned above. Expenditure on education now stands at 3. 9 per cent of GNP with a total investment of Rs 44,583 million by the States and Rs 34,410 million by Government of India in 1996-97. The DPEP initiative has estimated an expenditure of Indian Rupees 400 million per district over the project period of five years. This is a soft loan from the World Bank, which the Government will repay over a long period. It is difficult to estimate the investment in girls' education.

Government of India has a well established system for monitoring programmes and submitting regular reports to State Assemblies and the Parliament. While nationally funded projects follow the routine system of reporting through a MIS system; externally assisted projects and programmes follow two parallel systems. While the regular system continues to operate, each donor-assisted project has its own reporting system. Annual reports, periodic review missions and mid-term and end-project evaluations are followed by most donors.

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However, DPEP follows a different system with six monthly joint reviews and periodic issue specific studies.

DPEP has also developed two software packages that enable monitoring through computerised information systems, i. e. Project Management Information System (PMIS) and Education Management Information System (EMIS). The centralised monitoring and assessment system provides information to all contributing donors and the World Bank. Some states have also done extensive household surveys to create base line information.

Lok Jumbish Rajasthan has evolved a unique planning, review and monitoring system. The system encourages a regular participatory process review consisting of Cluster level Review and Planning Meetings (monthly) to Block Level review and Planning Meetings (monthly) culminating in the State Level Review and Planning Meetings (periodic). In addition LJ has a computerised MIS system to track each component of the project i. e. building construction, training, retention registers, formation of village education committees, women's groups' etc. All information is disaggregated by sex and at any given point the project has information by sex from the village education committee to the state office located in Jaipur.

3.1.1. *Governance and Gender Equity*

Where do girls and women stand today? It has been widely accepted that there is a latent demand for education among the poor, especially women and girls. Almost all people working with poor rural and urban women say that women not only realise the value of

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education, they also want to send their daughters to school in order to give them the opportunity of a better life. They acknowledge the empowering role of education, especially in negotiating an unjust world from a position of strength.

Ability to read is seen as a necessity to calculate wages and rates, to know what one is signing, to access information, and above all, to walk with one's head high. We have also seen that given the right environment, opportunity and facilities -women and girls participate with great enthusiasm. Ostensibly all the programmes are formally committed to bridging the gender gap. This focus is often lost during implementation. Programme strategies for mobilisation, teacher recruitment and training, and community involvement through village education committees are organised in a gender-neutral fashion.

Lack of gender sensitivity among administrators and technical people becomes a stumbling block. As a result, special cells, gender consultants, girls' and women's components get marginalized. While official checklists are complete, weaving gender issues into mainstream planning and administration remains a major challenge. While administrators at the top reiterate their commitment to bridge the gender gap in educational access and achievement, this is not the case down the line. Women who work as gender consultants, trainers and resource persons are not only outcastes, but are often the butt of jokes in an essentially male dominated system.

Is this an insurmountable barrier? Experience of special programmes, not just in the education sector, but in some other social sectors, shows that a systematic orientation and sensitisation programme at all levels is a

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good starting point. Appointing one gender consultant does not work. On the other hand, giving each worker three-dimensional responsibilities may be the answer. For example, in a District level office there could be a three-way work allocation. At the first level, each person takes responsibility for different aspects/components like formal schools, non-formal centres, extra-curricular programmes like fairs, exhibitions, competitions, school-health etc. At the second level the same people are asked to pay special attention to girls, children with disabilities, children from disadvantaged castes/communities etc. And at the third level each worker is made fully responsible for one small geographical area.

In such a system a team consisting of five workers will have a very interesting job profile. For instance one worker may be in charge of non-formal education centres, girls' education and also be in charge of one cluster of 25 villages. Logistical issues like distribution of textbooks, incentives, payment of travel allowances for teachers and so on should be distributed territorially. Therefore if a person is in charge of a cluster of 25 villages - she/he should ensure timely distribution of supplies and reimbursement, address teacher motivation issues etc. This kind of system can help us break out of airtight boxes and those in charge of girls will not feel marginalized. This system is operational in Rajasthan Lok Jumbish - with startling results.

Invisible and uncomfortable issues in the work environment need to be brought upfront. Why do women teachers hesitate to attend residential training programmes? How does the dual burden of girls and women affect pace of learning? Who is asked to prepare tea and serve during meetings? Why are girls invisible in

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school mapping exercises? Unfortunately, it is not easy to address such issues in a large system. Administrators admit that main line systems are not amenable to change. Caste and regional prejudices persist even after fifty years of Independence.

In recent times basic values of social justice and equal opportunity have been rapidly eroding. One social commentator wrote about the state as private property. Good governance, justice, honesty, equity these words are rarely heard in political campaigns and speeches. Therefore, some people argue, it is not surprising that women and girls continue to be · marginalized. Is the situation so grim? Can educational administrators really implement the government's own policy and ensure gender equality? Innovations and bold experiments - small and big - give us reasons to hope.

3.1.2. *Political will, Commitment and Leadership*

Reviewing the march towards gender equity in educational access in different parts of the country, it is now more than evident that political will, administrative commitment and leadership are key. In regions/states where girls' and women's status is relatively better, gender disparities are low. However, there are regions in India where this will is not evident, some people even argue that there is a will to keep girls and women in a state of subordination. Despite the odds, presence of committed officers in administration and charismatic leaders in civil society make all the difference.

Let us take the case of Rajasthan. In the last ten years this State has been a pioneer of sorts. Some of the most creative strategies to reach the unreached have evolved in Rajasthan. Nevertheless, the mainstream

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education system continues to be indifferent. While special projects like Shiksha Karmi and Lok Jumbish are breaking new ground; the rest of the education system is, by and large, apathetic.

Social change and administrative reform invariably get the initial push from committed leaders. Within a system, there are those who break the path and make the journey less formidable for others. Such leaders are important not only to trigger change, but also to nurture and create enabling systems and mechanisms for workers down the line. It is therefore important to identify such leaders, and give them the mandate to work. The Indian administrative system is based on the principle that generalists, who do not have roots or vested interests are, by definition, superior to those who have a stake in what they do.

Experiences of successful initiatives in the government and in the non-government sector point to the role played by dynamic and committed leaders in making the system work to the best advantage of the beneficiaries. Staying power within a department, district, programme or project is somehow frowned upon. Looking back over fifty years of government functioning, it is quite apparent that committed civil-servants, technocrats, specialist have been the only ones who have made a significant difference. Yet, the system continues to transfer teachers every few years, move committed civil servants from positions where they have made an impact. The system binds and bind everyone to inflexible rules and regulations.

Even when autonomous bodies are created to provide for flexibility, they gradually take on the character of the main system and loose their flexibility

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and innovativeness. Recruitment policies, transfers, financial decentralisation and devolution of administrative powers to lower levels become contentious issues. For example, when Mahila Samakhya Societies were created it was generally agreed that project personnel would be appointed after careful screening for commitment and aptitude to work with poor rural women. However, in a State this became a contentious issue in the early years. The State Programme Director and functionaries who controlled finance and administration were recruited from the State Civil Service.

Given their background they chose to follow government procedures and identified themselves with the government. The flexibility provided in the project document to launch and implement a women's empowerment programme was not realised. This became a major bottleneck and the programme could not take off as expected. While field level processes and training were organised with the help of NGOs and social activists the project structure viewed them with suspicion. As a result, there was a lot of tension between field level staff and the project administration. It took the State Government almost five years to accept the importance of providing space for innovation and a flexible structure that can respond to emerging needs of the programme. It was only when the Government appointed a non-civil service person as the State Director that the programme was able to realise the potential of an autonomous structure.

Financial norms and procedures, administrative authority and delegation of responsibility with authority remain problem areas. Making a system responsive to the needs of the poor, reaching out to those who have had no access to quality education, understanding the constraints

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that prevent girls and women from accessing education - all these demand sensitive administrative systems and dynamic leadership. When rules and procedures are framed, the programmatic needs are not taken as the starting point. Existing government norms and procedures determine how funds will be used. Organisations and Government departments do not orient their financial and administrative staff. As a result they fail to appreciate programme issues and go by standard interpretation of rules and financial procedures. In most cases, programme staff do not see their colleagues in finance and administration as partners. As a result, the attitude of the latter is not very favourable to the former, leading to innumerable bottlenecks.

It is here that the aptitude and commitment of the leader is of critical importance. Some organisations suddenly come alive with a change at the top. The same rigid rules and procedures acquire a new image when the entire system, including financial and administrative staff, are geared to meet programme objectives. Leadership makes all the difference. Identifying civil servants and technical people committed to girls' and women's education, sensitising, orienting and empowering them to work for achieving the girls of universal education for girls and women - is the need of the hour.

Bridging the gap between intent and action involves a wide range of hard management decisions. It is not enough to proclaim one's good intentions through policy documents and statements. India has no dearth of good policies and programmes. The basic question is one of commitment to act. Reviewing interesting initiatives, successful inno-vations and effective programmes, one cannot but notice that India is a country of varied

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experiences. No document can do justice to the hundreds of stories, small and large, that made a difference. From committed teachers who plug along regardless of insensitive system and harsh ground conditions to large national projects that have become show pieces of the nation - it is not such a grim situation.

The challenge before us is to devise ways and means to harness the experience of micro-initiatives, both in the government and non-government sector in order to bring about meaningful change in the management of education. We have wonderful policies, but are at a loss to implement them. Instead of working on new policy documents every few years, we as a nation will do well if we decide to set aside all debates and discussion on policy and focus on the effective implementation. We have talked the talk, lets now resolve to walk the walk, however arduous the journey may be.

Innovations in the public sector with potential for large scale replication:

Micro-planning and school mapping as a technique to enumerate all children in the school going age, record their enrolment and attendance status, estimate demand for non-formal education, identify barriers to participation, take stock of infrastructure. Teacher attendance and motivation has been tried out in Rajasthan Lok Jumbish with considerable success. Using this information, generated by local people through Village Education Committees, Prerak Dal (group of animators) or rural women's groups work out decentralised strategies for mobilisation, improving school environment and motivating and supporting teachers. The result is micro level plans that reflect the felt needs of the community.

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Lok Jumbish has introduced both a Village Education Register and Retention Register to keep track of, and update, information. This system of planning from below has resulted in opening new schools, establishing non-formal education centres, organising residential camps/programmes for out-of-school adolescent girls and organising decentralised training for teachers, village level animators and members of village education committees. This effectively results in transferring the initiative to the people and to educational administrators working at the Block and District levels. In Rajasthan this has brought into the open the phenomenon of the invisibility of girls and has forced rural communities to think about the status of girl children.

The Shiksha Karmi Project of Rajasthan pioneered the system of para teachers to address the problem of teacher absenteeism and non-functional schools in remote rural areas. Young youth from rural communities are identified and trained to work as teachers, with intensive ongoing resource and training support from educational resource groups (NGOs). This project runs three types of schools. One, Shiksha Karmi (Educational Workers or para teachers) take over and run dysfunctional primary schools as Day Schools.

Two, Prehar Pathashala (schools of convenient timings) are run in the evenings or nights to accommodate girls and working children. The same Shiksha Karmi who runs the Day School also manages the Prehar Pathashala. Three, Angan Pathashala provide girls with easy access to primary schooling within reasonable distance from home. A woman is preferably selected as a teacher and runs the school in an Angan (courtyard of a home). The community provides the

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space or the school functions in the residence of the teacher.

Sahaj Shiksha Karyakram (Non-formal Education Centres under Lok Jumbish) presently run 2,326 centres in 33 Blocks of Rajasthan. The SS schools are opened after the micro planning and school mapping process, with the full support of the community. The village community is expected to provide land and to bear any cost incurred beyond the grant money of Rs 10,000. The schools are open for 250 days a year and offer courses to achieve Class V level competency. Learners (mostly girls) in the 9-12 age group take approximately three years to reach that level of competence. Younger children take five years. The classes run for two and a half hours a day and the timings are fixed in consultation with the community - day or night. Each SS school has a library and the teacher are trained intensively and supported continuously. Almost two-thirds of children attending these schools are girls.

Mahila Samakhya, meaning women's equality through education, is a women's empowerment project which seeks to bring about change in women's perception of themselves and that of the society. It endeavours to create an environment for women to mobilise themselves into collectives. Women are to seek knowledge and information in order to make informed choices and create circumstances in which they can learn at their own pace and rhythm. The centrality of education and life long learning is an important focus of the project. A Sahayogini (a cluster co-ordinator in 10 villages) facilitates the process of mobilisation and organising women. She functions as the link between women and the project structure. She accesses and

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organises resource support by way of training and other inputs to meet the emerging demands of women.

These demands range from childcare support to workshops, fairs and training programmes on specific issues/themes. Where possible, the programme links up with other development initiatives. For example, the programme has had links with the public distribution system, the health care system with access to forest produce and education. This Dutch Assisted programme is operational in 5000 villages of Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. It has been recently extended into Madhya Pradesh and Assam through the DPEP initiative.

Mahila Shikshan Vihar, Mahila Shikshan Kendra and other residential condensed education programmes for adolescent girls and young women. Initially conceived in Mahila Samakhya as a strategy to enhance the pool of educated women who can be trained as educational workers, this programme for residential condensed courses has since been adapted by Lok Jumbish for adolescent girls. Girls and young women join the residential programme and achieve Class V level competency within six months to one year. The curriculum is developed in such a way that the students not only achieve Class V level competency, but also gain self confidence and become self assured young women.

There is a way -some recommended strategies:

India is rich in policies, thus almost every conceivable strategy to promote girls' education has been covered. The problem lies in implementation. It is therefore necessary to concentrate on making the system work and deliver the services. The following areas need special

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attention and intensive advocacy to persuade political leaders, policy makers and administrators to reform the system.

Shut the tap before mopping the floor. Unless every child - girl and boy - has an opportunity to go to school, and is retained and taught in school for at least five years there will be no significant change in the educational scenario in India. Adult and Non-formal education programmes will then make a qualitative difference. Non-formal and other forms of partial education programmes cannot be a substitute for universal access to elementary education. This is of particular importance for girls' education. Ensuring every girl child experiences childhood and has access to schooling should be the priority of all educational interventions.

Identify the most deprived sections of society and design and implement time-bound special programmes for girls. Link the special programmes to the formal school system (where feasible) and give a big push to girl children from the poorest and the most disadvantaged sections of the society. Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi Project provides a good model that can be replicated across the country.

Similarly, running time-bound special educational programmes for adolescent girls (and boys) who are either out of school or have completed grade 5 and have nowhere to go or have never been to school. Focusing on education, skill development, self-confidence building and health education of adolescents will create a critical mass of educated women in society. The ripple effect of this needs no elaboration. Such an intervention will have a positive impact on primary education - creating role models that have visibly benefited from education. This

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intervention lends itself to effective NGO - Government collaboration.

Upscale and replicate innovations that have made an impact by organising intensive training and study tours for a team that is ready to initiate or strengthen a programme. Organisations like UNESCO can play a very important role in partnership with the Government. Intensive advocacy to replicate the lessons of few successful innovations could be followed by an intensive training/study tour. Handholding, nurturing and encouraging innovation is necessary. However, it is important to keep in mind that only the generic principles can be replicated. No model, however successful, can be duplicated. Duplication of models can be disastrous - especially in a country with so much diversity.

Orient and train educational administrators, teachers and faculty in training institutions and sensitise them to gender dimensions of educational access and give them the necessary skills to deal with gender issues in their working and living environment. Training a few individuals in an organisation will not suffice. A critical number of converted and motivated functionaries are necessary to bring about sustainable change in any organisation.

Follow-up gender sensitisation training with appropriate administrative reform. Rules, regulations, work ethics, training systems and a whole range of management systems need to be reviewed from the gender lens.

Do away with stand alone gender consultants or women's focal points in mainstream institutions. Create a three-dimensional (matrix) system. A three-way work

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allocation system can be adopted. For example each functionary can be given three interlocking responsibilities. Dimension one related to a component of the programme (formal, non-formal, extra-curricular, school health, teacher training, curriculum development etc.). Dimension two related to a special focus group - girls (even here one can distribute between urban poor, rural backward community, minority) children with disabilities, children from disadvantaged castes communities, children of nomadic tribe etc.

Dimension three where each worker is made fully responsible for one small geographical area - with full responsibility for logistics, personnel and finance. Each functionary ends up with an interesting job profile. The danger of marginalisation can be addressed in this way. Training and support of functionaries to work in a holistic manner is a precondition for the success of this strategy.

Create a public platform at the District/State/ Regional level where key political leaders are invited to publicly commit themselves to promoting girls' education. Follow up with regular news/information on what is happening where. The main focus could be on facilitating the implementation of Government's policies and programmes. This platform could also be used for seeking information, recognising teachers who have made a difference, giving awards, bringing to light persistent absenteeism by teachers in some areas and so on. Making primary education a public and political issue may go a long way in building political commitment and administrative will.

Needless to add, mounting international pressure on India to implement existing policies, can create a

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favourable climate for in-country advocates to push for girls and women's education. At this stage, India needs to focus on girls and adolescents. This will not only shut the tap but will create an environment where adult women will feel enthusiastic about learning and education. Ultimately, generating a demand that we can no longer ignore could be the mother of innovations for women's education.

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4

Women in Higher Education

4.1. Special Programmes for Improve the Status of Women in higher Education

However strong are women's aspirations, and however much they support each other, progress will be extremely slow unless and until there is public recognition that a problem exists and needs to be tackled. Gender equity policies and programmes merely represent good intentions unless they are backed by appropriate legislation and infrastructure support. Legislation needs to work in tandem with mechanisms and structures that ensure the observance and implementation of the proposed legislation.

Similarly, special programmes for women are necessary but they need to be supported at government and institutional level by anti-discrimination legislation and regulation. This support is a tangible expression of organizational recognition for creating an enabling environment for women and it undoubtedly can make a great difference to the capacity of women to manage multiple roles.

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4.1.1.United Nations (1979) Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

This comprehensive thirty article Convention sets out in legally binding form internationally accepted principles and measures to achieve equal rights for women everywhere. It reflects the depth of the exclusion and restriction practised against women solely on the basis of their sex, by calling for equal rights for women, regardless of their marital status, in all fields: political, economic, social, cultural and civil. It calls for national legislation to ban discrimination, recommends temporary special measures to speed equality in fact between men and women, and action to modify social and cultural patterns that perpetuate discrimination.

Other measures provide for equal rights for women in political and public life; equal access to education and the same choice of curricula, non-discrimination in employment and pay and guarantees of job security in the event of marriage and maternity. The convention underlines the equal responsibilities of men with women in the context of family life. It also stresses the social services needed (especially child-care facilities) for combining family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life.

4.1.2. Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development

The 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development provides a framework for Commonwealth governments and identifies for planners and implementers fifteen areas considered desirable components of the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action

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on Gender and Development. Since 1995, the Commonwealth Secretariat adopted special measures to strengthen its capacity to provide gender-inclusive and women-specific functional and technical assistance to governments in key programme areas. These measures were:

1. Inclusion of gender issues in all Commonwealth and divisional mandates, action and strategic plans.
2. Gender training workshops to develop the capacity of in-house professional staff for gender planning and gender analysis.
3. Appointment of consultants and experts, who either have, or will acquire, the capacity for gender analysis and planning.
4. Equal and equitable participation of women and men in all secretariat activities.
5. Collation of gender-disaggregated information related to implementing the Plan of Action.
6. Use of this information to monitor the effectiveness of each division in implementing the Plan of Action.
7. Gender accounting that identifies and allocates resources to facilitate gender integration as well as undertaking women-specific projects and initiatives to help women 'catch up'.

4.1.3. National Policy of Education, India (1986)

The Constitution of India guarantees women equality, liberty and fraternity. To overcome prolonged deprivation women were also accorded the privileges of free education and reservation in educational institutions.

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The National Policy of Education (NPE) is a landmark in the approach to women's education. It has attempted for the first time to address the basic issues of women's equality. In the section titled 'Education for Women's Equality', the policy states:

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated disadvantages of the past, there will be a well conceived edge in favour of women. The national education system will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators.

Women's studies programmes would have four dimensions, namely teaching, research, training and extension. Women's issues would be incorporated in courses under various disciplines. Research would be encouraged on identified areas/subjects. Seminars/workshops would be organized on the need for women's studies and for dissemination of information and interaction. The objectives are, by 2000, to enrol more women in various professional degree courses so as to increase substantially their number in medicine, teaching, engineering and other fields. The crowning achievement of this decade have been the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments which guarantee women a minimum one-third representation in all local bodies both in the rural and urban areas and also reserve one-third of all chairpersons for women.

The government in the 1970s moved to bring Australia more into line with United Nations equity initiatives, and to lay the foundations for social change,

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which included improvement in equity for women. Two pieces of legislation were enacted:

Sex Discrimination Act (1984): The objectives of the Act include the removal of discrimination in the workplace, in educational institutions and other areas of public activities, on the basis of sex, marital status or pregnancy, sexual harassment, and family responsibilities.

Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act (1986): The provisions include the requirement of employers with 100 or more employees to develop an affirmative action programme and to report annually on this programme, to the Affirmative Action Agency. Affirmative Action is appropriate action taken by the employer to eliminate discrimination by the relevant employer in relation to employment matters; and measures taken by the relevant employer to promote equal opportunity for women in relation to employment matters. Each year since 1987, this legislation has required Australian universities to report to the agency which assesses their reports against the requirements of the Act. The legislation outlines four areas for review: recruitment and selection, promotion and transfer, training and development and conditions of employment.

In 1988 the federal government published its National Agenda for Women setting out the national priorities for women for the rest of the century. Since 1999, all publicly funded higher education institutions have been required to develop equity plans and programmes as part of their annual submissions for funding and student places. Funding allocations under the Higher Education Equity Programme (HEEP) have been based on institutions equity plans.

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In 1995 the Higher Education Council (HEC) began to assess the progress of the higher education system towards meeting the objectives identified in the 1988 higher education White Paper and further emphasized in 'A Fair Chance for All'. HEC has also been given the brief to provide advice on the appropriate foundation, principles, broad national objectives and means of monitoring achievements of the system over the next five years.

In June 1998 an independent committee presented a report, 'Unfinished Business, Equity for Women in Australian Workplaces', to the Minister for Workplace Relations and Small Business. The review's objectives were:

(a) to assess whether the benefits to the community from the legislation/regulation outweighed the costs;

(b) to assess whether the objectives of the legislation/ regulation couldn't be achieved more efficiently through other means;

(c) to have regard to the effects on welfare and equity, economic and regional development, consumer interests, the competitiveness of business and efficient resource allocation; and

(d) to ensure compliance costs and the paperwork burden to small business be reduced where feasible.

The government response to the review was released in December 1998 and 'The Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Amendment Bill 1999' was passed through the Senate on 9 December 1999. The name of the Act changed from the 'Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity) Act 1986', to the 'Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999'. The

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Affirmative Action Agency became the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency. A new, simplified report form and guidelines are currently being developed. Organizations will continue to report to the agency annually, unless waived. An advisory board will establish high speed links between the agency and business. The initial priorities for the advisory board will be to give advice on:

(a) designing an improved reporting system;

(b) targeting industries most needing assistance;

(c) developing educational materials; and

(d) preparing guidelines on practical ways to provide equal employment opportunities.

4.1.4. Equal Employment Opportunity offices

For the provision of support for gender equity policies and practices, some higher education institutions have taken an important step by establishing equal employment opportunity offices. A study of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) offices in India (Jawaharlal Nehru University), New Zealand (Auckland University) and South Africa (University of Cape Town) throws considerable light on their establishment, development strategies, management, work and impact on the status of women in these institutions.

In all three institutions government policy and legislation played a facilitating role in the establishment of EEO offices. In the case of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) a cell was established in response to the University Grants Commission to strengthen the machinery for implementation policies. At the University of Cape Town (UCT), the development was consistent

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with the democratization process in South Africa. The composition of the staff became a pressing issue as the student body changed. The University of Auckland was responding to special needs of Maori women and other disadvantaged minority groups of women. In each case there was an emerging sense of the need to 'increase the fairness of all procedures and practices in employment'. This was accompanied by the recognition that large reservoirs of talent were not being used.

Their mandates vary somewhat. The JNU Cell is firmly oriented towards effective implementation of government policies, systematic follow-up, and the maintenance of information bases; UCT has a vision of an institutional culture that is free of all forms of discrimination. The goal of the EEO is to.make a decisive difference, through playing a challenging and supportive role, to UCT becoming an institution in which equity is a substantive and lived reality as experienced practically by staff and students, and as indicated by a race, gender and disability profile broadly corresponding to that of the wider South African population.

At the University of Auckland, the task is expressed as 'to make good intentions a reality, by effective evaluation and monitoring of all employment procedures'. At UCT and University of Auckland broad mission statements or goals are followed by designation of.target audiences., specific targets and objectives to achieve those, and methods of measuring progress. All need co-operation and liaison with other people and support and involvement from the top (vice-chancellor) are vital. All three offices are responsible for collecting and collating data and reporting on results.

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Each university provides many examples of innovative strategies and practices to raise awareness of equity issues, to plan new initiatives, to monitor the implementation and development of the equality opportunity (EO) plans, and to keep the profile of activities high among opinion leaders. Strategies range from arranging for provision of child care for students and staff, to development of a temporary workers' employment bureau, to re-wording of advertisements for staff to let possible applicants know of reservations or EO policies, to introduction of personal safety measures.

Strategies also include routine work such as providing support for the introduction of new ideas and practices in faculties and university departments; offering training programmes, collecting and analyzing data; monitoring of recruitment, selection and promotion procedures; and finding ways to increase the pool of qualified applicants for positions. A key issue is the mainstreaming of activities. Importance of power in universities reinforces the need for EO principles and practices to be accepted and promoted at the highest levels within the university, and at managerial levels (whether academic or administrative) throughout the university.

4.1.5. Pacific Charter for Women Managers in Higher Education

The University of the South Pacific Council adopted the Pacific Charter for Women Managers in Higher Education on 21 October 1996. This represents a major initiative by the Pacific women and a landmark charter to ensure gender equity in higher education in the Pacific.

The charter is based on the principles of

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(a) addressing the inequality in gender representation at management levels in higher education institutions in the Pacific;

(b) the need to safeguard, support, guide and affirm the aspirations of women in higher education management in the Pacific; and

(c) the need to adopt appropriate action to fully utilize the talent of Pacific women.

The charter;

1. Pacific women are to be equally represented at all levels of policy, decision-making and management in institutions of higher education in the Pacific.
2. The untapped pool of management talent of Pacific women within each country must be recognized, and appropriate action taken to fully utilize it.
3. Institutions of higher education in the Pacific must develop strategies to increase the pool of women eligible for management positions.
4. The learning and working environment is to be gender friendly, encouraging the use of gender-neutral language.
5. Higher education institutions should recognize and promote actions needed for women to have equal access to, and participate in technical and vocational training courses. Wherever possible, higher education institutions in the Pacific are to raise awareness of gender issues through curricula, staff induction and training programmes, policies and practices, among other things.
6. Support services are to be provided, as much as possible, to allow Pacific women to participate in

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learning and working opportunities at any stage of their lives, e.g. appropriate accommodation, flexible working hours, creches, counselling services, mentors and role models.

7. Pacific women's work shall be recognized and rewarded equally with men both for appointments and promotions.

The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) outlines strategies that will enable the creation of an environment in which women can expect to enjoy a more equitable position compared with their male counterparts. In the Handbook for African Universities FAWE outlines:

(a) a general strategy and specific activities that can be used to carry out that strategy;

(b) monitoring processes to track progress;

(c) an action plan with measurable indicators of the increasing presence of women on campus; and

(d) ways of mobilizing resources and further help.

There is recognition that even more needs to be done both inside and outside the university. The pool of female applicants needs to be increased, particularly in mathematics and science by improving the teaching at the secondary school level. Sexual harassment cases need to be handled with dispatch and sensitivity and existing penalties need to be enforced.

4.1.6. Commission on University Career Opportunities (CUCO)

Sex discrimination has been on the statute books for over twenty years in the United Kingdom, but until relatively

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recently the higher education system as a whole showed little sign of giving any priority to the significant under-representation of women at its highest levels. As a positive step the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals took the lead in 1994 in establishing the Commission on University Career Opportunity (CUCO). The CUCO mission statement reads: 'To encourage and help universities to realise the educational, economic and cultural value of diversity by employing, at every level of responsibility, people drawn from all the varied communities which universities serve and influence.'

The commission will use publicity and persuasion to:

(a) emphasize that diversity includes age, colour, disability, ethnic or national origin, gender, marital status, nationality, race, religion, and sexual orientation;

(b) help universities ensure that staff in all modes of employment are fairly selected, deployed, appraised, developed, rewarded, promoted and otherwise fairly treated; and

(c) encourage universities to set their own programmes of action and goals to achieve a balanced, representative body of staff.

In A Report on Policy and Practices on Equal Opportunities in Employment in Universities and Colleges in Higher Education: Guidelines, CUCO points out that fostering equality of opportunity is not simply a matter of recruitment and having personnel procedures in place. Institutional culture has to change so that competence is recognized wherever it is and all staff are guaranteed the career and development opportunities

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that will enhance their ability and their contribution to the success of their institution. By ensuring equality of opportunity in education and employment, higher education institutions are communicating that they provide good quality services for all students and staff.

Strategies emphasized are:

Equality targets: It is not enough for institutions to merely adopt a policy. Action plans need to be drawn up, targets need to be set, monitoring needs to be undertaken and positive action set in train. Without these inter-related and essential elements to the implementation of equal opportunities, a policy statement could read like so many empty words. Positive action implies a range of measures which university employers can lawfully take to encourage and train people from racial/ethnic ability or gender groups that are under-represented. It should not be confused with positive discrimination which often consists of setting unlawful quotas.

Selection procedures: Similarly, high quality staff are critical to the success of any academic institution. So appointing quality staff is a core task. Ensuring the equality, openness and objectivity of institutions' recruitment and promotion processes are the most reliable ways to ensure the appointment, retention and motivation of high quality staff throughout institutions. CUCO has provided information on, and guidelines for, universities on a number of key aspects (including gender), which will ensure equality of opportunity for university staff and students. These include:

(a) guidelines on recruitment selection and promotion for universities and colleges in higher education;

(b) guidelines on disability for universities and colleges in higher education;

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(c) flexible working in universities and higher education colleges;

(d) equality targets (action planning and monitoring in universities and colleges);

(e) guidelines on harassment for universities and colleges in higher education;

(f) childcare in universities and colleges; and

(g) policies and practices on equal opportunities in employment in universities and colleges in higher education.

The existence of this body is a signal that the higher education system as a whole has given public acknowledgement to the issue of diversity and representation of which gender is one component.

There are few pointers to the impact of the legislative measures. However, in all the countries where legislation has been put in place, a fairly good rate of increase in women's participation is shown at all levels. The Australian experience is particularly relevant: it has legislation in place and mechanisms for monitoring and reporting. The Commonwealth Higher Education Management Service (CHEMS) survey on female numbers in universities revealed a higher proportion of senior women in Australia than in most of the other Commonwealth countries.

India's provision has also produced a larger than usual number of women in Asia at the helm of universities and university departments. Carmen Luke reports from Australia on the impact that quality assurance (QA) requirements of the government have on gender and other inequities in universities. She argues that an overview of QA audit processes leads into a

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closer examination of universities' response to QA initiatives. The culture and management style of a regional university was significantly transformed from an informal and pastoral model to one with open systems of accountability and performance targets built around equity issues.

In that regard, it is argued, equity target groups including women, became the visible focus of the development and implementation of new systems designed to bring equity into the mainstream. In this particular university, the new managerialism of QA was indeed a panoptic mechanism of 'making visible' productivity, equity groups, procedures and outcomes. But in an institutional context where open systems were lacking and women's contributions invisible and undervalued, the QA agenda brought new opportunities not only for women but for other groups previously marginalized and silenced.

June Gleeson's study on EEO offices concludes that the agenda and success of equity offices reflect the place accorded to women within the national and higher education policies relating to women. No special provision exists in JNU, India and this is reflected in the low proportion of women staff. In South Africa the new constitution asserts values of non-racialism and non-sexism. There is also the Independent Commission on Gender Equality and a National Gender Policy and Gender Management System are being developed. UCT has put in place anti-discrimination policies and programmes relevant in particular for women such as the 1988 Sexual Harassment Policy.

UCT also hosts organizations and processes concerned with the progress of women (branch of the

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South African Women in Science and Engineering; student organized Women's Movement; and the African Gender Institute). The impact of EEO is still slow at UCT where staff profile remains predominantly white and male. The impact of EEO office is described as 'distinct but limited'. Auckland has the greatest representation of women in its staff and students (students nearly 50%, academic faculty 33%; and general staff 58%), but large numbers are in part-time, casual and temporary positions. Some specific successes are noted: overall increase in number of academic women, employment of additional Maori and Pacific Island women lecturers, introduction of child care and holiday programmes for children, and the increasing emphasis on a family-compatible work place.

Gleeson concludes that the implementation of EEO principles and practices is a challenging and rewarding task. It can provide clear benefits to the university with commitment to its implementation. A greater range of diverse knowledge, skills and attributes are available to the university. If these are valued and used, they will enable the university to better position itself in the constantly changing, better-educated and increasingly interactive world environment. It is recommended as a most worthwhile and beneficial endeavour for a university to undertake.

Legislation is helpful but is not sufficient to ensure that gender equity policies will meet with success. Success is more assured if equity targets are set and recruitment and promotion procedures clearly enunciated. Success of gender policies and legislation also need to be supported by the establishment of mechanisms and support structures which ensure

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appropriate implementation. Support structures that are effective include the provision of clear guidelines on a wide range of gender related topics; the establishment of clear reporting procedures; the setting up, at national level, of an agency which can enforce monitoring and reporting (Affirmative Action Agency, Australia); and the establishment of gender equity and equal opportunity offices.

From the limited evaluation available, QA measures are known to improve the managerial culture of an institution, from the gender perspective. Gleeson has drawn up a number of guidelines for the establishment of EO offices which reflect important lessons learnt from the case studies examined.

4.1.7. *Increasing the Quantity and Quality of Women*

The problems of low women's participation in higher education cannot merely be addressed by improving conditions of entry and employment for women in the higher education sector. Many universities are unable to recruit women lecturers because of a shortage of women in the graduate programmes, the primary pool for recruitment of women into universities. Currently, while gender balance in undergraduate studies has been achieved in most countries of the Commonwealth, there is still a dearth of women in postgraduate studies. Measures to overcome the shortage of women postgraduate students and creating a pool of women able to seek employment within the higher education institutions, represent important steps in restoring better gender balance in this sector.

The proportion of women students at undergraduate and graduate level is increasing steadily. In Australia, the

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United Kingdom and the United States, women comprise one-half of undergraduates and one-third of postgraduate research students. However, as Diana Leonard has so eloquently pointed out in planning changes in postgraduate studies, women's needs are ignored and higher education remains geared to men's needs rather than women's.

Leonard points out that recent debates in the United Kingdom about the desirable form of Ph.D., ignore gender issues. Changes proposed by the key Winfield report. increasing support for students, introduction of a taught research training programme, and treating completion after four years as late completion. have all been set up assuming full-time, geographically mobile, trainee social scientists. Hence they present difficulties for all those who do not fit this profile because of their domestic commitments, residence, career profile or discipline.

Consequently, the proposed changes impact differently on (different groups of) men and women, who have, overall, differing family responsibilities, possibilities for geographical mobility, academic interests, etc. The problems women face in completing Ph.D. studies have not been fully addressed and deserve careful consideration. A few examples illustrate positive steps taken to help women complete their studies.

4.1.8. Scholarships and Fellowships

Most development agencies are conscious of the need to improve the proportion of women in postgraduate studies. Agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Association of Commonwealth Universities which manage the

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Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) have taken steps to ensure that their award schemes are structured to increase the proportion of women postgraduates. Both insist that each nominating country should include the names of women candidates. As a result the proportion of women scholars, for instance, has gradually risen to 33% in 1997 under the CSFP. There is still a considerable way to go, but the insistence of scholarship boards and agencies on including women candidates seems to be one concrete way of enabling a larger pool of women to enter academia.

Women face considerably greater difficulties in completing their postgraduate studies, often coping with multiple roles they play. There is evidence that special measures which improve the conditions for postgraduate studies help women achieve a greater rate of success and completion. This is demonstrated by the case of the Council of Australian Postgraduate Associations (CAPA). CAPA's commitment to improving conditions for postgraduate women is a vital step towards improving women's participation in academia. CAPA aims to improve the status of women in Australia by promoting access and equity issues for a diverse range of postgraduate women.

CAPA acts as a dynamic force that promotes affirmative action, and lobbies various government agencies about access and equity issues in higher education in order to ensure that the diverse category 'women', along with other equity groups, are supported in postgraduate study towards future employment both within and beyond the academy. CAPA recognizes that in Australia it is now virtually impossible to be employed as an academic without a Ph.D. CAPA strongly endorses the need for, and the implementation of, equity and

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access measures in postgraduate education. With respect to women, then, CAPA is most concerned with correcting any discriminatory policies and practices.

CAPA's Women's Committee promotes strategies such as mentoring programmes, seminars, and the representation of postgraduate women on university boards and committees to redress the gender inequity issue. CAPA is also active in lobbying government and non-government organizations about the specific access and equity needs of postgraduate women. CAPA also promotes access to postgraduate education for traditionally disadvantaged groups of women. In fact, CAPA notes that women as a group are economically disadvantaged, and that the payment of higher education fees is likely to act as a deterrent for some women contemplating higher education.

Moreover, the implementation of fees for postgraduate coursework degrees acts as a disincentive to women who are most under-represented in Australian public life. such as indigenous women, women from non-English speaking backgrounds and women from lower socio-economic groups. CAPA is responsible for raising public awareness of the insidiousness of such inequities and for lobbying the government to redress current fee structures. CAPA has also brought to the federal government's attention the inequity between the taxation conditions of part-time and full-time scholarships. Part-time scholarships are subject to taxation in Australia while full-time scholarships are tax-exempt. Part-time scholarships are usually undertaken by women with dependants.

Moreover, CAPA recognizes that the provision of scholarships to higher research students from non-

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traditional backgrounds is a necessary step towards changing traditionally masculinist knowledge bases. CAPA is therefore involved in lobbying relevant government and university bodies to allocate scholarships to a diverse range of women, particularly to indigenous women and to women from developing countries. CAPA is equally concerned with lobbying the Australian Government and universities for equity on the conditions of postgraduate women who come from a range of countries to conduct their research in Australia and who are a national resource inasmuch as they contribute to the economy in a variety of ways during the course of their postgraduate degrees.

CAPA lobbies for institutional recognition of, and appropriate support for, women who encounter sexual harassment, the promotion of masculinist pedagogic principles and teaching styles, and the victimization of women who undertake study in those disciplines where women have been traditionally under-represented. Moreover, CAPA rejects any devaluing of those faculties, such as humanities and health sciences, where women are traditionally concentrated.

CAPA maintains that the provision of interdisciplinary support for postgraduate women is a vital step towards the employment of women in academic positions. CAPA's commitment to improving conditions for postgraduate women is a vital step towards improving women's participation in academia in Australia. (Submission by CAPA.) CAPA also plays a vital role in providing a support structure for postgraduate women in Australia.

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4.1.9. Issues in Doctoral Studies

Special difficulties which women Ph.D. students face are: lack of support, finance, grants and a high share of domestic chores — 'though highly variable, women's financial, time and locality constraints are systematically different from men's'. Key areas that need to be addressed are: identification of a supervisor; keeping going — overcoming problems of accommodation, 'chilly climate / social isolation', sexual harassment, stress, caring for family; completion fewer complete within four years, viewed as less successful.

The evidence points towards measures that enable more women to enter and stay in undergraduate and postgraduate education. However, while the gender gap in undergraduate education has almost disappeared in most countries, the steps taken to increase the corpus of women in postgraduate programmes have only had limited success. The allocation of special awards for women postgraduate students has helped to improve their presence in graduate studies and in academia. There is little evidence that much is being done to improve the conditions under which women postgraduate students labour. Writings by authors like Diana Leonard and the initiatives of organizations like CAPA, have raised the level of consciousness of the problems. This may be the much needed step to set a trail of support mechanisms, flexible curricula and Ph.D. time tables which will make the task of completion easier for women.

The problems faced by women postgraduate students are numerous and debilitating. Institutions of higher education need to address these to improve their entry, performance and completion rate. Positive steps taken, such as increasing the quota of scholarships and

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awards for women postgraduate students can help to increase the number of women in postgraduate education, making for a larger pool of women for recruitment into academia. Raising the level of consciousness of the unique problems faced by women postgraduate students is an important step towards addressing this problem. Organizations like CAPA have an important role to play in lobbying for better conditions of study and support for women postgraduate students.

In any review of women's poor participation in higher education, especially higher education management, attention is drawn to women's lack of appropriate competencies and skills, both social and managerial, to compete on an equal footing with men. A group of person-centred factors are held responsible for women's poor performance and measures are sought to enable women overcome their deficits. In these circumstances training for women is viewed as an important step towards improving their personal capabilities and capacities to ensure greater participation at all levels of higher education and an overall improvement in the status of women in higher education.

Training programmes for women academics, thus, represent an important strategy for enhancing their knowledge about higher education, as well as sharpening their skills and competencies in a range of activities such as research and management which are valued in higher education. Universities have identified training needs in a broad range of areas.

Many associations of universities and individual universities have established training courses programmes for women. These aim to recognize and

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enhance women's leadership capacities and influence within universities. They provide opportunities for participants to:

(a) reflect on leadership attributes and on strategies to enhance and use them effectively;

(b) increase knowledge of a range of management competencies relevant to higher education;

(c) participate in a learning environment which builds on the diversity of experience within the group;

(d) develop an understanding of the pedagogy of adult learning;

(e) provide theoretical underpinnings in areas which will support women's development;

(f) provide practical support in a supportive environment;

(g) develop knowledge, skills and competencies in specific areas, which is difficult while carrying a full-time load;

(h) provide opportunities for women to reflect on their multiple roles and strategies for better balance in their personal and professional lives; and

(i) build personal, national and international networks.

Their specific objectives are often associated with the desired outcomes of the organizers and the purpose for which the course has been designed. The Association of Commonwealth Universities has undertaken considerable work which has focused on enhancing management skills for senior women administrators and managers in higher education. The Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee

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(AVCC) concentrates on providing senior women leadership and management competencies as well as focusing on very specific aspects of university management such as performance management and strategic planning.

The University of New England, Australia, designed a programme for research and research management skills for academic women at associate lecturer and lecturer level. As a result of the increased concern with the participation and the status of women in higher education management a degree course as well as short training courses for staff of individual universities are offered by the University of London, Institute of Education. The programme of study has been designed for individuals who want to:

(a) understand more about the position of women in educational management;

(b) have the opportunity to explore the situation of women in management in higher education; and

(c) have the opportunity to make informed decisions and plans about their working life.

The situation with clerical women staff persuaded the Equal Opportunity Unit at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ) to direct resources and information to the large general staff group. USQ had therefore, run two-day Career Moves courses, involving 130 women over three years. This course was developed as a training programme to enable women in clerical and administrative positions to identify their expertise within a skilled-based classification structure.

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— Key features of training programmes

— Types of training programmes

— Training programmes are essentially of two kinds:

Short-term courses and training workshops offered by higher education institutions or organizations. Most of the courses run, for instance, by the ACU, AVCC and at the Institute of Education, University of London fall into this category. These can take a variety of forms:

(a) fully residential over a few days or a week;

(b) spread over two or three optional days; or

(c) half-day/few hours per week over a semester, or year, or longer.

Courses are usually directed to a particular group or level of women staff:

(a) chief executives — vice-chancellors, deputy and pro vice-chancellors;

(b) senior women managers and administrators — deans, deputy-deans and heads of departments, registrars, bursars;

(c) senior lecturers with good prospects for moving into managerial positions;

(d) lecturers;

(e) support staff of different categories, e.g. clerical staff; and

(f) different levels of administrators.

Resource persons can be local from among the staff with the relevant expertise or from within the staff development units of the institutions or consultants. The

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ACU uses a group of international resource persons who work closely with local experts. Most Australian universities have appointed special staff, based in equity or equal opportunity offices, with this responsibility. Commonwealth countries. India, Nigeria, Sri Lanka. have created a core group of trainers from among senior academics who have attended the Training of Trainers Workshops to carry out training at the national and institutional level.

Training programmes that are effective rise out of the strategic plans of institutions. The special needs and the importance of women's development is recognized. Special units are established and officers are appointed to implement the training programmes for women. Full-time degree and diploma courses, such as the M.A. at the Institute of Education, London. The provision of appropriate training materials is an important ingredient of the training process. The Commonwealth Secretariat and the ACU have produced six training modules and commissioned two more to support its training programmes.

For the University of New England, Izabel Soliman prepared a book of resource materials for the course on Developing the Research and Research Management Skills of Academic Women. To carry forward the work of a Training of Trainers Workshop for senior women academics in India, organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat (Commonwealth Higher Education Support Scheme. CHESS) and the University Grants Commission, India, the University Grants Commission in India decided to adapt the modules by the Commonwealth Secretariat for use in the local context. The contextualizing of the modules has developed a course

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for Training of Trainers for Women in higher education and management in India and will gradually percolate the training to as many universities as possible.

At the Institute of Education, University of London, the focus is on some short intensive and interactive courses for women in management in higher education. The course content emphasizes that: In planning development courses for professionals the learning and teaching process (pedagogy) is as important as the content. Not only must the subject and information under examination be clear, informative and well-focused, but also the ways they are investigated. lecture, case study, small group, large group, pairs or triads. must be appropriate to both the participants and the subject matter. Participants need time to think about ideas raised on a course. They need the opportunity to challenge, change, take ownership of, or decide that they do not like them.

The programme is not a course of lectures on how to manage in universities, but rather a series of intensive and interactive workshops to explore understandings of management and why women should want to do it. The content of the programme changes slightly according to the management responsibility of the participants. At the University of Southern Queensland, the programme 'Career Moves' for clerical level staff begins by explaining the industrial relations context and demystifying the language and processes of the skills-based framework but most of it revolves around small group discussion work, an intensive homework manual, role plays and problem solving. It focuses directly on the Australian situation, so participants leave with an immediate plan of action.

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Workshops at the 'Developing the Research and Research Management Skills' of the University of New England address the themes:

(a) life and career priorities. Where does research fit in?

(b) managing time for research;

(c) stress management;

(d) collaborating in research; and

(d) collaborating in academic writing.

Panel presentation on planning and developing research projects includes a presentation on developing a research application for funding, a step-by-step strategy for writing successful grant applications. Evaluation reports point to:

(a) increased level of consciousness of the issues facing women;

(b) greater advocacy for gender balance;

(c) the formation of networks of women in higher education at various levels;

(d) women highly motivated to work towards their career advancement;

(e) women who are able to provide leadership and role models to other women;

(f) increased knowledge, competencies and confidence among women managers, and prospective managers;

(g) some significant career moves;

(h) establishment of monitoring gender disaggregated data;

(i) publication of news letters;

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(j) development of inclusive curricula; and

(k) development of national directories of women resource persons/professionals.

Training workshops/courses provide an important mechanism to enhance women's capacities which enable them to play a more prominent and productive role in the development of their institutions and higher education. Training workshops enhance women's knowledge, skills and competencies valued in higher education. Training programmes and courses can address a range of needs which can be clearly associated with the desired outcomes of the organization. Training programmes and courses can be short-term (residential/ non-residential) ranging from one day to a week, or a few hours over a longer period, or long-term full-time/ part-time courses leading to a diploma or degree.

4.1.10. Academic Women's Networks

The paucity of women in senior university positions is often explained by their lack of information on employment, promotion, research, conference opportunities and a range of other important aspects of university life. Among the many overt and covert 'glass-ceiling' factors that impede women's career paths are the informal organizational cultures also referred to as the 'old boys club'; and the persistence of cultural values and attitudes that strongly support women's childcare, family and domestic responsibilities as priority over career aspirations. Cultural norms which leave women shouldering the greater burden of childbearing, nurturing and home-making, leave women academics with little time for socialization into the academic norms, criteria

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and strategies which are essential to gain advancement within the university system.

It is argued that women can overcome some of their problems of isolation and lack of support from fellow colleagues by being a part of networks which are specifically designed to enable women easy access to vital information and to the critical support, counselling and advice they may need to enhance their performance function more effectively in their careers. In their efforts to achieve equal opportunities, women themselves provide significant support for each other. They can support each other by sharing their networks of influence, by enabling more senior women to act as mentors for their more junior colleagues, and by providing friendship and support in more personal ways when life gets difficult.

4.1.11. Commonwealth Networks

Over the last two decades a large number of academic women's networks have emerged aimed at enabling women to enhance their participation, roles and status in higher education generally and in higher education management specifically. Across the Commonwealth a variety of academic women's networks have been established. Some, like the Association of Commonwealth Universities' Women's Network, are pan-Commonwealth, while others, like the Network of Women in Higher Education in the Pacific (NetWHEP) are intended for regional groups. The Professional Women's Development Network (PWDN) and Through the Glass Ceiling Group in the United Kingdom, the Senior Women's Academic Administrator of Canada (SWAAC) and the Colloquium of Senior Women Executives in Australian Higher

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Education address the needs of national groups of women.

Some networks, like the Australian Technology Network (ATN) of five universities of technology, work on behalf of special interest groups. Individual universities, like the University of Southern Queensland, have also instituted active women's networks. In Africa, the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) is a membership organization that brings together African women ministers in charge of education systems, women vice-chancellors of African universities and other senior women policy-makers. It was founded in 1992 and registered in Kenya in 1993 as a pan-African NGO.

FAWE has sixty full members from thirty-four African countries (many from Commonwealth countries), twenty-eight associate members comprising male members of education ministries and permanent secretaries, and thirty-one national chapters. As an unprecedented group of influential African policy makers, FAWE is well positioned to stimulate broad policy reform and create a conducive environment for increasing parental demand for girls. education. FAWE as well as national chapters, such as the Forum for African Women Educationalists, South Africa (FAWESA), have focused on important initiatives in the higher education sector.

A national network which has worked effectively with the apex university body in the country to encounter the problem of under-representation of women is the Colloquium of Senior Women Executives in Australian Higher Education. This national group of women in senior management positions in Australian universities was formed in October 1995 with the full

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support of the vice-chancellors of all universities in the Australian Unified National System of Higher Education. The formation of such a group was considered timely and useful given the continued under-representation of women at more senior levels both within individual higher education institutions and across the higher education sector nationally. The colloquium has worked closely with the Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee (AVCC) to push their agenda through a Plan of Action which has been endorsed by the AVCC.

These groups aim broadly to provide a supportive network for women members working at senior levels in higher education. The networks encourage women to access the most senior academic and administrative positions in the universities and assist them to acquire the skills and knowledge required to perform them effectively. They promote an active sharing of information about appointments, publications and research pertaining to women, employment and promotion opportunities and forthcoming events such as conferences, meetings, workshops. They provide an avenue for seeking and providing advice, solutions and good counsel on problems encountered by women in their university lives. They are committed to achieving gender equity, share good practice, identify role models and plan programmes that help to enhance women's careers. They provide leadership and co-ordinated advice on significant issues, lobby and advocate on behalf of women's interests and draw attention to organizational structures and cultures which mitigate against women's career advancement.

For the developing countries of Africa, a special focus of FAWE is on strengthening female leadership at the tertiary level. FAWE's overarching goal is to use its

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forum as an intellectual resource to assist in the development of member countries' national capabilities to evolve, implement and improve strategies that have the potential to accelerate female participation in education. FAWE's intent is to contribute to sound human resource development by identifying and widely disseminating examples of good practice in strategic resource development, planning and deployment. Specific objectives of a number of networks focus upon the need to:

(a) close the gender gap in higher education;

(b) link senior women across universities, across regions, in countries and institutions;

(c) improve the representation of women in policy and decision-making positions in higher education;

(d) provide opportunities for leadership training and skills enhancement in management, teaching and research;

(e) achieve parity of representation by women and men in the most senior positions in higher education;

(f) identify, address and influence change within both the network and members' own institutions;

(g) promote the shared interests of women working at senior levels in higher education and to provide a mutually supportive network;

(h) provide evidence about the progress of gender equity in higher education;

(i) to provide an opportunity at the national level for networking, information exchange and sponsoring amongst women in higher education at senior levels;

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(j) to identify and monitor the responsibilities, expertise and representation of women working at senior levels; and

(k) to provide leadership and co-ordinated advice at the national and institutional level on significant issues, as appropriate.

The support women receive from these networks help women be more sensitive to their roles in higher education and to improve their self-confidence, making them more competitive for the senior positions in universities.

Activities of network

Women's networks undertake a range of initiatives to help promote their members. These include holding workshops, seminars, meetings, leadership development programmes, publications and training materials, and advocacy. A few examples below illustrate the spectrum of activities:

The ACU's Women's Network communicates through an electronic bulletin, while training workshops focus on the training of trainers who are then able to conduct similar workshops in their own countries and institutions as well as initiate a range of activities to promote women's careers. Considerable effort has also gone into producing user-friendly training modules which address key issues confronting women in higher education.

NetWHEP, since its formation, has held a number of workshops, seminars and satellite meetings. Australian Technology Network (ATN) runs the very successful ATN Women's Executive Development Programme (ATN

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WEXDEV). The ATN WEXDEV Programme produced two publications: A Model for Women's Executive Development and Women and Leadership. Other publications highlight aspects of the programme such as mentoring, personal professional development and senior executive placements. The Professional Women's Development Network covers consultancy and research, mentoring and work shadowing, and training and development in the form of in-house training, conferences, seminars, networking schemes and workshops. SWAAC holds annual conferences.

FAWESA has focused on two important initiatives in the higher education sector: The Higher Education Score Card and a professional development programme for women. FAWE's activities related to higher education fall into three broad areas: policy and research; strengthening leadership and capacity building; and supporting networking. UNESCO/OUI Network for Women and Social Development has been launched between universities of the North and Latin America to focus on feminine leadership in areas such as political power, conflict resolution, access to education, health, technology and entrepreneurship, and to reinforce the contribution of university-based teaching and research to these fields Network.

Networks, through a wide range of initiatives, help their members improve their prospects for employment and advancement within higher education institutions, thereby reducing the gender gap. They help build leadership skills and competencies, enable women to be better informed about available opportunities, act as a source of mutual support for women facing similar problems, and through policy and research development, provide a platform for advocacy on behalf of women.

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Successful networks display some of the following features:

They are established by women (and sometimes men) in influential positions in the higher education sector. The formation of the colloquium was the joint initiative of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Business, Equity) at Griffith University, Professor Margaret Gardner, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Equity and Development) at the University of South Australia, Professor Eleanor Ramsay, who have remained the co-conveners of the colloquium. The colloquium consists of all women in Australian universities who are vice-chancellors, deputy vice-chancellors or pro-vice-chancellors, or who have status equivalent to these levels, determined as follows: having institutional wide responsibilities, and reporting directly to the vice-chancellor, and regarded as a member of the institution's senior executive/central management group.

FAWE brings together African women ministers in charge of education systems, women vice-chancellors of African universities and other senior women policy-makers. Of its members, twenty are vice-chancellors of African universities who are able to discuss issues and strategies related to higher education. They work in tandem with other organizations and associations with responsibility for higher education. Such co-operation is vital for the achievement of their objectives. The colloquium pushed its agenda and plan of action for women in Australia in collaboration with the AVCC. Each network diagnoses the problems facing their members and draw up comprehensive programmes to help members overcome their special difficulties. Some focus on information sharing and linking with each other. Others feel the need for leadership skills and professional development, while still others are engaged

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in advocacy work and in creating a more women-friendly environment.

4.1.12. Mentoring

Mentoring occurs when one individual assists with the learning and development of another. It can happen spontaneously when people meet, share information, provide support. As organizations seek to maximize the potential of employees, mentoring is being recognized as a strategy that has many advantages. 'Mentor' usually means a senior and more experienced person who acts as a guide or model for a less experienced person. 'Mentoring is a deliberate pairing of a more skilled or experienced person with a lesser skilled or experienced one, with the agreed-upon goal of having the lesser skilled person grow and develop specific competencies'.

Role of Mentoring

Recognizing the important role of mentors in the careers of successful people has led an increasing number of organizations and corporations to establish formalized mentor programmes. Mentor connections have been created to orient new employees, foster executive development, assist in career advancement, improve job performance, lower employee turnover, enhance creativity and increased leadership potential.

The mentoring programme provides on-the-job, individual professional support and development, which can assist with both immediate issues and longer-term career development. Mentoring can provide an excellent tool for coping with change. Mentors can often assist mentees to see opportunities. Mentoring is a learning tool

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which can be very beneficial in clarifying problems and identifying solutions, and can provide a safe, confidential forum to practise resolving problems with objective, supportive feedback.

Mentoring is also highly beneficial for the organization. It is a cost-effective form of staff development, providing assistance with career development and, often, with conflict resolution, both of which enhance staff morale. It provides an avenue to staff across a wide range of areas and levels to share knowledge and experience, and this increases internal knowledge of the organization. Evaluation of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) Staff Mentoring Scheme has shown a high level of satisfaction among both mentees and mentors. Many mentees achieve exactly what they aimed to. Others find that new directions open up. A successful pairing results in increased self-esteem in the mentee and a greater sense of capacity and satisfaction for the mentor.

The mentoring programme is usually a facilitated one, as demonstrated by the RMIT Staff Mentoring Scheme. The staff mentoring programme began in 1994 as an initiative for women staff by the Equal Employment Opportunity Branch. Each year, the programme is advertised, staff apply, indicating skills sought or skills offered. Staff are paired across the university according to skills offered and skills sought. Some staff participate as both mentors and mentees. Pairs are matched and introduced at a training programme.

Monitoring and support are provided by the programme co-ordinator. Some pairs continue from year to year, others conclude, often with the two people each taking on another mentor or mentee. An increasing

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number of staff join each year. In 1997, men came into the programme as mentors, including the Vice-Chancellor. Approximately one hundred staff are currently involved in the programme.

The University of Queensland's Women in Leadership Mentor Programme has about seventy participants. Its key features are that the time frame is limited to two semesters; goals to be reached within that period are identified by mentees very soon after the beginning of the programme. A half day initial training for both mentors and mentees is instituted; and meetings for feedback are arranged periodically throughout the year. These are supplemented with seminars on aspects of career development. Its approach to mentoring has been:

(a) for women to mentor women;

(b) for mentors and mentees to be matched in similar areas, but not necessarily exactly the same faculty or work group;

(c) that mentors learn and receive benefits from the mentoring relationship just as much as mentees; and

(d) that the number of people in a mentoring relationship can be open-ended (although triads work really well).

The Australian Technology Network Women's Executive Development Programme (ATN WEXDEV) has experimented with a pilot 'Mentoring at a Distance Scheme'. Eight pairs were established by the National Office, linking where possible people in similar areas, but matching across universities. Women were from both academic and administrative streams. All were provided with detailed information on mentoring and with an

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agreement form. The National Office kept in regular contact. A brief evaluation carried out in August 1999 suggests that 'Mentoring at a Distance', through phone or e-mail is much more difficult than was initially assumed and that there is need to feed in much more support. The principal findings were: It became apparent that, despite initial enthusiasm, the women involved found e-mail mentoring difficult to maintain.

Relationships were more easily established when the partners knew each other, but even then difficulties of defining relationship occurred. Some respondents pointed to other issues that make e-mail a difficult medium for mentoring relationships. e-mail lacked the same momentum, dynamism and reciprocity that face-to-face contact has. The issue of security of e-mail contact is clearly important to confront if any form of successful distance mentoring is to be established.

Successful e-mail mentoring requires: direct face-to-face contact to start with, very careful matching of pairs, training for both mentors and mentees, a strong support network during the period for both mentors and mentees and accepting that mentoring deserves time to be allocated to it. Another mode of mentoring is that of 'work-shadowing'. The Work-Shadowing Scheme for Principals was set up by the Association for Colleges and the Association of Principals of Colleges, in the United Kingdom. Since 1995, fifty placements have been arranged. The aim is to provide each principal with an opportunity to shadow a senior manager with a similar level of responsibility and decision-making in an organization (usually) outside education.

The hosts have included chief executives, managing directors, general managers, human resource directors,

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the editor of a national newspaper, a university vice-chancellor and a college principal. The principals have come from further education colleges and adult education colleges. The placements have been usually for five days, not necessarily consecutive, usually with one person, but in several cases spending time with others in the senior manager's team.

The responses from participants have been very positive. They found the experience interesting and enjoyable. The outcomes have included influence on management styles, teamwork, HR procedures, strategic planning, marketing and financial control. Work-shadowing is an inexpensive opportunity to stand back from the day-to-day pressures of running a large institution, to reflect on one's own practice and on the management practices of others, and to gain new ideas and new perspectives on current challenges. It is hoped that the project will persuade colleges that work-shadowing can become a regular and accepted part of their human resource development programmes. It is not specifically for women but considered a suitable strategy for women staff in higher education.

Mentor programmes report some outstanding successes, with a number of mentees gaining promotions, research grants and better employment opportunities. The programmes have maintained ongoing popularity since their commencement with increasing numbers taking part in them each year. Mentoring has presented both mentors and mentees with opportunities to develop many skills, make new contacts and experience fresh perspectives. While career advancement has been a very positive outcome, major gains have been made in the development of networks and support systems. There were also unexpected but important gains for mentors

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who had participated in the programmes. The rewards included a greater awareness of how to plan their own career strategies and the friendships/networks which developed out of the mentoring process.

Mentoring programmes bring benefits both to women and to their institutions. Women improve their leadership qualities and career prospects while higher education institutions achieve better staff satisfaction, retention and capacity. Cheryl Dahl in Women's Way of Mentoring has drawn conclusions on good mentoring practices. Mentoring programmes that succeed received the support of the top management as well as the full co-operation of both mentors and mentees who were prepared to learn from and help each other in a mutually beneficial relationship.

4.1.13. Women's Universities and Colleges

In many countries, especially in Asia, enrolment of girls in higher education is extremely low. Among conservative families and communities, parents, fearful of their daughters. reputation and marriage prospects, are opposed to sending their daughters to a mixed gender institution. There is also a feeling that their performance will suffer in the face of the distractions provided by the presence of men students. In such circumstances, as a step towards enabling more female students to obtain the benefits of higher education, a number of countries have encouraged the establishment of all-women colleges and universities.

Women's universities have been established in many countries to provide for the special needs of women students and to enable a larger group of women to have access to university education. Until recently women's

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universities existed in the United Kingdom. Japan has several women's universities, Bangkok has one, the Philippines Women's University was established in 1919 and was 'born out of an inspiration and a vision of women's potential roles in nation building' and India has several while Pakistan has just established its first women's university.

The SNDT Women's University in Bombay was established in 1916 by a social reformer to make higher education available to poor and low-caste women. Since then there are four more women's universities, two deemed universities and nearly 1,000 women's colleges, constituting nearly 10% of the total number of colleges in India. These recognize that women are still denied to higher education because of poverty, social and cultural situations and uneven opportunities. The Fatima Jinnah University in Pakistan has been established on persistent demand of parents who prefer to educate their daughters in a women's institution rather than sending them to co-education institutions. Pakistan has twenty-three other public co-education universities.

The focus and curriculum of these universities in India has moved ahead with the times and now provides high-quality professional and academic education to women, comparable to that available in the co-educational universities and colleges. They retain their special focus on women who may enter universities late and provide courses for non-traditional groups and adult learners. These universities introduce areas of special interest to women, offer courses which meet challenges of modern times and make women self-reliant. Some also assume responsibility for monitoring, conducting research with a feminist orientation through women's studies and consultancy.

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The programmes and courses of the Fatimah Jinnah University have been formulated to prepare the students to meet the challenge of the next century. The university hopes to prepare all the students to grow into self-aware, confident and contributing members of society. The courses and programmes are non-traditional, and in the areas which are economically viable. in management sciences, computer sciences, information technology, social sciences, fine arts and education. Women and development is a compulsory course for all disciplines. Similarly, research methods, introduction to computers and creative and scientific report writing in English are some of the core courses currently being offered.

In addition, a Women's Resource Centre has been established on the university campus to involve the students in awareness raising activities. Many of the women's colleges have been able to introduce gender positive initiatives. These initiatives have included both curricular and non-curricular interventions. Among curricular interventions are a large number of courses in emerging areas; offers of job oriented gender-neutral vocational courses; introduction of women-related topics in various subjects. Non-curricular interventions included: gender sensitization programmes; personality development programmes for improving skills in communication, leadership, etc.; self-confidence building courses; and life skills programmes for balancing career and home.

India affords one of the best examples of increasing access for women through women only universities and colleges. In a gender segregated society like India, separate women's universities play a significant role in promoting women's education. The number of students

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at these colleges may otherwise never have had an opportunity to work in higher education.

The teaching staff as well as the management and administrative staff of these colleges and universities are mostly women, providing these women a greater avenue of employment, further training, and promotions. Opportunities exist for more women to be appointed to positions of leadership. There are also clearly more openings for women to be at the helm of these institutions. The only woman Vice-Chancellor in Pakistan is the Vice-Chancellor of the newly established Fatimah Jinnah Women's University. The programmes which are specially geared to the development needs of women have had significant impact on student's perceptions and self-image.

Indiresan reports several perceived advantages of attending a women's college. These include confidence building, improved communication skills, better social interaction, greater freedom to participate in sports and physical activities, greater intellectual development through improved participation in debates and discussions, more opportunities for developing leadership qualities and greater awareness of ethical, aesthetic, cultural development and gender sensitization. 'In general, the women students feel that the type of exposure that they get in women's colleges, the opportunities provided to them and the safe, secure and supportive climate all enhance their sense of overall competence, gives them confidence and makes them feel empowered to face the challenges of life'.

Women's universities in the Indian subcontinent have helped to increase women's enrolment in higher education. Women's universities provide women

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leadership opportunities at all levels as well as opportunities to be employed in top management positions in universities. Women enjoy good opportnities for further training and promotions in women's universities. Students at women's universities enjoy many benefits: access to courses relevant to their development needs, and improved perceptions and self-image.

4.2. Women's Studies

Women's studies and, more recently, gender studies are taught in many universities. However, in very few instances they aim to improve the participation of women in higher education. Most of the studies are academic studies and do important work that illuminates the problems faced by girls and boys, men and women in various facets of their lives, especially in education and employment. These groups seldom play an activist role in lobbying for change within their own institutions.

Some women working in the field of women and higher education are convinced that women's studies should not only shed light on the issues and solutions but should also play an important role in enhancing the participation of girls and women at all levels of the education system. This section therefore examines the role of women's studies in achieving better gender balance in the higher education sector.

In India, as a follow up to the National Policy of Education, 1986, the Programme of Action 1992 recognizes the value of women's studies' as a critical input to promote better understanding of women's contribution to social processes within social,

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technological and environmental change, their struggles and aspirations, conceptual obstacles that make them 'invisible' in many areas of scientific enquiry. The programme aims to investigate and remove structural, cultural or attitudinal causes of gender discrimination, and thus empower women to achieve effective participation in all areas of national or international development'.

Dimensions to be supported are: research, teaching — to change present attitudes and values of men and women to one of concern for gender equality; training of teachers, decision-makers, administrators and planners. The Women's Studies and Development Centre, University of Delhi, which is supported by the University Grants Commission focuses its efforts to strengthen women's studies programmes in Indian universities and to initiate changes and help develop curriculum material, human resources and research in women's studies.

In India women's studies are undertaken by women's study centres, NGOs, grass-root organizations, feminist resource centres and individual scholars. The University Grants Commission (UGC) funds twenty-two centres in the universities and eleven cells in the colleges. Principal activities have included workshops for restructuring curriculum; orientation of teachers and researchers to include women's dimension; incorporation of issues relating to women in courses, incorporation of women's dimension into courses in different disciplines; elimination of sexist bias and stereotypes from textbooks. Scholars question concepts, tools and techniques which justify the denial of equity for women and make them marginal and invisible - they aim to assimilate gender into all knowledge systems. That women's studies may act as a catalyst for the advancement of women in higher

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education is demonstrated in the University of the West Indies. Experience of the University of the West Indies is encapsulated in a training module by Gwendoline Williams and Claudia Harvey. The module proposes the development of a women's studies programme as a vehicle for the achievement of change in higher education institutions. The module highlights activities required to promote the advancement of women, both within and outside higher education institutions. It encourages participants to assess the current position within a given institution or region followed by analysis of the factors needed to initiate and continue the change process, and the development of a women's studies programme as a catalyst for change.

Women's studies may range from being an academic research and teaching discipline, an area of training and management development, to that of public policy and practice. The module views women's studies as an academic discipline that seeks to promote gender-based management development and participation within the university in the areas of governance and administration, as well as a tool of advocacy for career advancement and job enhancement for all categories of women professionals and workers in the institution. The module concerns with the impact that an effective programme of women's studies can have in bringing about a more gender based approach to higher education management. Women's studies can illuminate the diversity of the training needs of women, and also men, at the varying levels of management in the institution.

The introduction of women's studies is a major achievement for the women's movement in India 'envisaged as playing an interventionist role by initiating

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the gender perspective in many domains' in the generation of knowledge as well as in the field of policy design and practice. Women's studies have played a significant role in uncovering the discrimination against women, drawn attention to special characteristics of women in poverty, the impact of political and economic macrosystems on women, as well as providing focal points for the mobilizing of women's opinion and action on critical social and economic issues.

Centres acted as catalysts for promoting and strengthening women's studies through teaching, research, action, fieldwork and extension. They added to the visibility of women's issues and were able to provide input into action. In India's Ninth Plan it is proposed that women's centres provide leadership in interventions in curriculum development. challenging existing theories in all disciplines and to intervene in the university's role in the educational system as well as in the various faculties and departments of universities.

Advocacy role is the cutting edge of women's studies programme. The underlying assumptions of the University of the West Indies approach is that gender studies, particularly teaching and research in women's studies, provide empirical means by which the gendered nature of universities can be revealed.

Change in gender relations in higher education institutions can be achieved through the activities and programmes of women's studies. Women's studies are ideally placed to spearhead advocacy on behalf of women and to act as catalysts for change.

4.2.1. *Gender Management Systems (GMS)*

The Gender Management Systems (GMS) approach

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addresses two main concerns in the quest to achieve gender equality and equity. The first is the technical task of engendering policy, programmes, projects and the day-to-day operations of universities. The second is putting in place a change management strategy that would create an enabling environment for gender mainstreaming in the sector, and commit all the relevant stakeholders to effective implementation. The spheres of mainstreaming are mainly student enrolment and support; the flow of education as captured in programme tracking, attendance, attrition and graduation; curriculum and instruction; research and outreach; governance and administration especially with respect to staffing, budgeting, facilities and information and communication.

GMS marks a shift from WID (Women in Development) to a 'women only' approach to addressing a gender inequality to a Gender and Development (GAD) approach — a focus which characterizes the struggle for gender equality as a shared concern and responsibility of both men and women. The goal is to create gender relations that are equitable for both women and men whatever their class, race, nationality, age and other attributes. GMS in the higher education sector determines how persistent inequalities between men and women are demonstrated in the higher education sector. If development is about expanding people's capacities and choices, then gender equality is about giving everyone the opportunity to participate in development.

The governance structure of universities becomes critical in instituting a gender management system, as it is this professional bureaucracy which provides the context and the environment within which the GMS will be implemented. As such, the process of mainstreaming gender must consider the influence exerted by this

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structure, culture and decision-making style to ensure successful change and transformation. The gender mainstreaming process involves four critical steps: description, diagnosis, interventions, and monitoring and evaluation.

Since its inception as the Higher Education Institution for the Eastern Africa region in the 1940s, Makerere University has from time to time demonstrated its role as leader. One of its current initiatives focuses on the process of eliminating gender inequalities. In 1990, the university instituted an affirmative action scheme to increase the admission of female undergraduate students. This has raised the percentage of female students from 20% to 35%.

The overall objective of this GMS is to ensure gender sensitivity in the governance and administration of Makerere University, so that its delivery of services to its stakeholders 'students, staff and the wider society' can lead to sustainable human development in Uganda, with men and women sharing responsibilities and enjoying the benefits equitably. The initial phase envisaged a series of gender awareness workshops for the top management of the university. The first three-day workshop brought together members of the Central Executive (Deputy Vice-Chancellor, University Secretary, Academic Registrar, Dean of Students, the University Bursar and their senior deputies).

Academic administrators included deans and directors and their deputies. It was organized by the Department of Women and Gender Studies, with financial support from the Department for Research Cooperation (SAREC) of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The immediate aim of the workshop was to:

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(a) analyze the issues that have given rise to concerns about gender inequality in university governance, management and administration;

(b) explore women-specific issues in diagnosing gender inequality at Makerere; and

(c) develop an appropriate action plan for a gender management system to support the mainstreaming of gender at Makerere.

Workshop content included an assessment of what had been achieved so far, the prospects ahead, and an analysis of gender issues and concepts for a university. Staff training and development, staffing, career development and employee relations, student enrolment and support, curriculum and instruction, research and outreach, public space and campus security, engendering the university budgetary process and a gender-inclusive language were discussed. Some of the presentations were by the top managers of the university.

Results from the initial workshop were not only positive, but have made the process even faster than planned. The workshop's detailed recommendations were accepted by the University Senate and will provide reference to the Inter-Faculty Senate Committee instituted to refine this process further. The committee is required to recommend to the Senate how best to achieve the following, in addition to what it may deem fit to propose:

(a) integration of gender into university curriculum and research;

(b) incorporation of gender into instructional methods and techniques;

(c) establishment and/or strengthening of gender-sensitive policies with regard to admission to and for

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the administration and academic management of the university;

(d) encouragement and establishment of gender-inclusive extracurricular activities; and

(e) specific provision for social and career guidance to ensure that women student and staff are fully integrated in the university.

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5

Education and Career Opportunities for Women

By 1990, on a global level, 36% of people employed in the formal sector were female. However, in most countries, women continue to be concentrated in lower level and less well-paid types of employment. Almost universally, female participation in modern science- and technology-based occupations has been remarkably limited despite the important roles traditionally played by women in the development and management of tools and implements in households and in family autarkies. Although they have always been users and often developers of technology, women have rarely been recognized as central actors in science and technology (S&T).

Although historians of science have provided evidence of female scientific activity — as physicians in the Middle Ages, mathematicians in early modern Italy, and natural scientists in the 19th century — female participation in S&T was discouraged during most of modern European history. Britain's Royal Society, established in 1662, did not admit women until 1945; even today only 2.9% of its Fellows are female; only

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seven women (3.5% of new Fellows) were elected in 1989–93. Britain's Royal Academy of Engineering has elected three women out of 901 Fellows.

The American National Academy of Sciences has 1750 living members, only 70 of them female. Where women have been involved in science, their contributions have often been minimized or overlooked. For example, Rosalind Franklin, the British X-ray crystallographer, provided critical information on the structure of DNA that enabled James Watson and Franklin Crick to undertake research on the double helix for which they later won a Nobel Prize. By the early 1990s, only nine women had been awarded a Nobel Prize in science subjects, compared with more than 300 men.

Feminist theorists have emphasized the biased nature of science, pointing out that it is a human activity heavily influenced by prevailing social, political, and economic factors. Some have argued that a feminist science would differ from "masculine" science because of fundamental differences in female perspectives and female approaches to problem solving. Science, as commonly practiced, espouses an essentially male world view, and women scientists who wish to succeed must of necessity work within this view or perspective. One object of continuing debate is the preeminence of scientific method with its emphasis on "rational" thought processes.

Definitions of rationality should be expanded to include at least some aspects of other cognitive styles and other "ways of knowing" For example, greater emphasis might be placed on evidence from other sources, including various types of intuition. To date, there has been little empirical exploration of whether female

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scientists really do work differently from male scientists or whether they bring different qualities or emphases to the scientific task.

During the past decade, growing feminist concern with the exclusion of women from S&T has led to determined efforts to correct gender imbalances. However, attempts in North America to increase the numbers of female students in science and engineering programmes have had mixed results. Indeed, in the late 1980s, the interest of all American freshman college students in science and engineering subjects declined by one-third during the previous two decades. An increasingly large number of places in American science-training programmes were being filled by foreign students.

Despite this decline in overall interest in science among American students, some critics have maintained that S&T will take women's concerns into account only when more women become scientists and technologists. However, the current model of S&T has been internalized by those (including both women and men) who have gone through and succeeded in the system. The mere fact of increasing the numbers of women scientists will not necessarily effect fundamental change in the conception and practice of science. If the current practice of S&T is to be reformed, then it will be necessary not only for more women to be represented, but also for a critical assessment to be undertaken of the underlying assumptions that guide the creation of S&T knowledge.

5.1. Integration of Women into S&T

During the past 15 years, there has been increasing

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international concern about the more effective integration of women into S&T. Numerous international conferences have touched on the issue of gender and S&T and many governments have publicly acknowledged that effective development depends on the full utilization of all existing human resources. As such, there is a need to ensure that women's capabilities and strengths are recognized and put to full use.

The Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development stressed the need for all types of training and education for women. Five years later, the report of the panel of the Advisory Committee on Science and Technology for Development made a more specific set of recommendations including the participation of women in technical training; the establishment of special apprenticeship programmes for women; and the support of women entrants into nontraditional areas such as engineering. The report also suggested a review of school curricula and textbooks; the encouragement of female participation in science clubs; and the development of science teaching materials that incorporate women's needs and perspectives.

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women made similar recommendations: the promotion of literacy among women; the promotion of equal opportunity at all levels of education and careers; the elimination of gender stereotyping in education; and the introduction of programmes to enable men to share responsibility for child-rearing and household maintenance. Such recommendations were aimed at creating an enabling environment for women to participate fully in S&T (as well as in other aspects of social, economic, and political life).

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More recently, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 emphasized once again the key role of women in environmental preservation and stressed the need for measures to increase education and training opportunities in S&T, especially at the postsecondary level. All of these recommendations emerging from major international gatherings have reinforced the centrality of women's contribution to economic, social, and political development. There especially has been overwhelming support for the provision of equal educational opportunities to enable women to acquire appropriate knowledge, skills, and training to participate in the practice (and formulation) of S&T.

Concurrently, since the 1970s, a growing number of networks and organizations have emerged, aimed at increasing women's participation in S&T. For example, the Association for Women in Science (AWIS) in the United States was founded in 1971 to promote equal opportunities for women to enter scientific professions and achieve their career goals. Some of AWIS's activities include the promotion of networking among female scientists, recognition and promotion of the achievements of women scientists, and the support of programmes and laws intended to eradicate inequities encountered by women studying and working in the sciences.

A similar role is played by the Third World Organization of Women in Science and Technology (TWOWS). Founded in the mid-1980s, TWOWS aims to survey and analyze the status and prospects of women in S&T in the Third World; improve access to education and training opportunities; increase the scientific productivity of women scientists in the Third World; and promote collaboration and communication among women

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scientists and technologists in the Third World and with the international scientific community as a whole. TWOWS was an active partner in organizing a conference on women in S&T, held in Cairo in 1993.

The International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC) in New York has also been an active proponent of women's participation in S&T, particularly in making it more easily comprehensible to less-educated and nonelite women. IWTC has put special emphasis on demystifying and popularizing S&T for and among women globally through the production of simplified texts that combine striking artwork with scientific information written in clear and concise language.

The Gender and Science and Technology Association is a global network that holds regular symposia on the role of women in S&T. It encourages research into all aspects of gender differentiation in science, technology, and employment and fosters gender equality and women's entry into science professions. Recruitment and retention of girls and women in science, engineering, and technology and the development of feminist perspectives on the practice of S&T have been particular areas of concern.

In March 1994, an international panel convened by the US National Research Council's Board on Science and Technology for International Development (BOSTID) in Washington identified five key areas for urgent corrective action. These included communication and dissemination of information; integration of local development and traditional S&T; education and training; facilitating opportunities for women in research; and access. These represent just a sample of the many networks, organizations, and initiatives that are under way. The

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integration of women into S&T is a vital area of concern not only for scholars and policymakers but also for activists and development practitioners worldwide. Nonetheless, in virtually all regions of the world, the participation of women in S&T comes nowhere near reflecting their representation in the population.

The social interactions within the family, in schools and churches, and in society at large through which girls and boys acquire a sense of their own role and place in society are potent factors in creating certain assumptions about the respective roles and responsibilities of women and men. Efforts must be made to ensure widespread gender sensitization to ensure that opportunities for girls are not abolished before they have even had a chance to discover their own potential.

Curriculum materials must be redesigned to ensure that they are equally relevant for girls and boys. At the same time, science teachers must be sensitized to treat girls and boys the same way in the classroom. They must avoid assuming that girls will be less interested or less competent in science subjects, and they must provide opportunity for girls to find their own solutions to problems rather than giving them answers.

Efforts must be made to recruit representative numbers of female science teachers at all levels, including at the tertiary level and in engineering faculties. The importance of role models both by including the achievements of female scientists and technologists in educational materials and as teachers and S&T professionals is critical in "normalizing" the concept of female opportunity and potential success in S&T. Similarly, role models and mentors can help young people develop self-esteem and a sense of capability

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Efforts should be made not only to ensure that girls have opportunities to meet and interact with female S&T professionals, but also that male professionals exhibit positive attitudes toward the idea of women in science.

Special efforts should be made to involve girls and young women in science-related events such as science fairs or school science clubs. Girls should also receive information about S&T opportunities through school counselling, interaction with professional societies, and so forth. Efforts should be made to ensure that women are encouraged to participate in nontraditional careers, such as auto mechanics, construction trades, and so on. Girls who show an aptitude for or interest in such areas should be given opportunities to obtain appropriate training in technical colleges or as apprentices in the workplace. Similarly, women should be included, together with men, in industrial retraining exercises, when new technical skills are being taught.

However, progress in implementing these recommendation has, at best, been mixed. In some countries, efforts have been made to revise existing school systems and create opportunities for girls and women, but in others, the issue has received little or no attention. In many cases, prevailing cultural norms and practices have posed strong deterrents to reform.

Participation rates for women in science are relatively low in most countries. In Sweden, which has a long history of promoting equality between the sexes, women accounted for only 11% of employed nonacademic scientists and engineers in 1985. In Japan, by 1992, fewer than 8% of scientists and engineers were female, most of them employed in less-prestigious scientific institutions.

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In the United States, by 1992, the figures were considerably higher, although still not representative of women's numbers in the general population. About 22% of nonacademic scientists and engineers were female; but although women constituted 36% of employed nonacademic scientists, they constituted only 8% of employed nonacademic engineers. In the United Kingdom, the numbers of women studying science and engineering were sufficiently low to warrant concentrated efforts to increase them in the late 1980s when science and mathematics became compulsory core subjects for all children aged 5 to 16 years.

However, there has been only a slow increase in the proportion of girls choosing to study sciences to A level. As in the United States, girls who do choose to study sciences tend to concentrate in the biological sciences rather than in natural or physical sciences and engineering. In 1991–92, women in the United Kingdom constituted only 27% of full-time science postgraduate students and 10–25% of postgraduates in engineering, mathematics, and the physical sciences. Less is known about the numbers of women scientists in developing countries, but evidence suggests that trends parallel those in the industrialized countries, with a tendency toward even greater exclusion.

In all countries, the number of women enrolled in medical and health-related fields is substantially higher than in engineering. However, the "medical and health-related" category used by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) does not differentiate between physicians and other types of health workers — such as nurses, physiotherapists, and social workers — making it difficult to assess the extent to which women are enrolled in the most prestigious and potentially well-

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remunerated area of health studies, that is, medicine. Unlike engineering, medical and health-related careers carry connotations of nurturing and social service. Even at an early age, girls tend to express a preference for careers with a strong element of social service.

It is worthy of note that the largest proportion of women engineers occurs in Central and Latin America, and the number of women of that region enrolled in the medical and health-related fields is also relatively high. However, although relatively many women study engineering and medical and health-related subjects, they will not necessarily work in those areas after graduation. For Latin American women in particular, the linkage between higher education and productive employment needs further examination. With respect to Nicaragua, the participation of women in higher education was at an all-time high during the Contra war in the mid-1980s.

African women seem to have the lowest participation levels in science programmes. This may be due to continuing deficiencies and inadequacies in the teaching of science to girls in many African countries. In an analysis of 41 developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa, Gail Kelly presents some surprising statistics about enrolment of women in natural sciences and medical and health-related fields. For example, in eight countries (Afghanistan, Argentina, Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, and Singapore), 50% or more of the students enrolled in natural science subjects were women.

The proportion of women in medical and health-related fields was even greater; in 13 countries, it exceeded 50% (Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Cuba, Jordan, Laos, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique,

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Nicaragua, Panama, and the Philippines). However, in no country did female enrolment in engineering exceed 50%: Cuba has the highest proportion at 32%. As already noted, this low participation rate for women in engineering holds true in industrialized countries. For example, in the United States, there are fewer women in engineering than in any other science-based profession, and the feminist movement has had limited effect in encouraging male members of the profession to reexamine their assumptions and biases.

5.1.1. Factors of Educational Disparities

Educational disparities between girls and boys at all levels are a primary cause of female underrepresentation in the sciences. In many parts of the world, female enrolment is substantially lower, especially at the secondary level and even where they are proportionately represented, girls' secondary education often differs from that of boys. There appears to be a stronger correlation between parental income and social status and school enrolment for girls than for boys ; during the 1980s, girls were disproportionately affected by the imposition of structural adjustment policies and education user fees in various countries. Where poor parents have had to choose between educating sons and daughters, the preference usually has been for male education.

Data from Kenya's Central Bureau of Statistics reveal that, by 1989, there was already a slight drop in the proportion of girls attending secondary school. In Tanzania, during the 1980s with the imposition of structural adjustment policies, there was a dual effect of lower school enrolments and higher drop-out rates. There is considerable evidence that girls receive less-intensive

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training in science and mathematics at the primary and secondary levels. Studies in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have revealed that girls routinely get less attention from teachers and that teachers often give answers directly to girls but provide boys with further information to enable them to solve problems for themselves.

Male attitudes, particularly among peers, can have a negative effect on girls' aspirations in science. In a study of secondary school students in Swaziland, Smith found that gender biases with respect to "appropriate" male and female occupations were held much more strongly by boys than by girls. Although girls' science achievement levels frequently equal or exceed those of boys in early primary school, they commonly drop in secondary school. To understand this trend, sociologists of education have studied classroom interactions between girls and boys and students and teachers.

In Britain, adolescent boys consistently undermined girls' efforts to participate in science classes by making disparaging remarks and indicating that they considered science to be a male domain. There is evidence, however, that girls' performance in science is more likely to remain stable in single-sex schools where, in the absence of male students, girls face less pressure to conform to predetermined "feminine" roles. Science teaching in such schools can have a positive impact. In Nigeria, for example, girls enrolled in science programmes at university were more likely to have attended single-sex secondary schools.

In Kenya, the number of girls attending secondary schools increased in the 1980s, but they were more likely to be at unaided harambee schools with inadequate

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teachers and facilities, especially for science. Even relatively prosperous girls' secondary schools often do not offer science courses, sometimes because of difficulty in finding qualified female staff to teach sciences. Analysis of the Kenya Certificate of Education Examination results for 1985 and 1986 showed that girls chose subjects that were less cost-intensive to teach.

Moreover, curricular changes in the mid-1980s reduced the amount of compulsory time spent on sciences from 17 to 12 class-periods per week, creating greater pressure on students to be self-motivated and to work independently outside the classroom. More than 75% of the girls who sat for mathematics exams in 1985 and 1986 failed. Girls tend to be more attracted to science if they see it as socially relevant. A British study showed that girls were less interested in science that involved defense-funded work or animal experimentation; a Nigerian study revealed that "usefulness" was one of the three most important factors (together with personal interest and ability) influencing female university students' choice of a career in science.

In Swaziland, male secondary-school students were much more likely than girls to think that success in science would lead to a good job. Finally, girls tend to perceive science as a male-dominated area with very long working hours. All of these studies suggest significant attitudinal differences between male and female students at secondary and tertiary levels. In general, girls have a stronger interest in people and social issues, whereas boys often show interest in tinkering and understanding the mechanical foundations of technology.

However, science curricula tend to be structured to appeal primarily to boys. If more girls are to be attracted

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into science, then school science courses must appeal to the interests and tastes of both boys and girls. In most countries, these differences have not been taken into account in science-curriculum design. Research has shown the significance of cultural and socio-economic factors in steering women toward science careers.

In the United States, foreign graduate students from Africa and Asia cited strong family pressure to enrol in science programmes. Similar pressure existed for African-American and Asian-American students, but not for students of European background. African and Asian foreign students also regarded national development goals as an incentive to pursue science-based careers. The close linkages between science, technology, and development have been emphasized for several decades and the message apparently has been internalized by many young people.

However, in Africa, girls specializing in natural sciences tend to come from more affluent socioeconomic backgrounds and to have better educated parents with less strongly held notions of sex-role stereotypes. If this is the case, then it would seem that it is mostly girls coming from social elites who even have the option to contribute to national development through pursuit of careers in S&T. Most girls have few role models of successful female scientists. Sex role stereotyping in school textbooks continues to be significant, and girls are rarely depicted as active participants in science textbook illustrations. More commonly they are shown as participant observers or as amazed onlookers. With the exception of Madame Marie Curie, few if any female scientists are identified for students.

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In Africa, where women are key subsistence food farmers, texts rarely even portray them as farmers. In some cases, curricular expectations differ for men and women. For example, at a Kenyan technical institute training junior-level agricultural officers, women were required to take practicals in home economics whereas men took agricultural engineering. Prevailing stereotypes of "appropriate" roles for girls and boys, men and women continue to inform the design of education programmes at all levels, especially in countries where the influence of feminist thinking on curricular reform is still at an early stage.

Even in the United States, in 1985, women constituted only 13% of science faculty and 2% of engineering faculty. Women have a much higher drop-out rate from science and engineering graduate programmes than their male counterparts. One reason may be a lack of female role models. Finally, in developing countries, girls are faced with a variety of factors that conspire to reduce their participation in higher education and in S&T. These include higher opportunity costs for girls to stay in school in the loss of their labour both in the productive sector and in the household. Teenage pregnancy and a range of socioeconomic, religious, and cultural influences all affect parental decisions to educate daughters.

In some countries, legal constraints also make it difficult for women to work in certain industries or under certain kinds of conditions. For example, until quite recently, in many African countries women, were prohibited from working between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. In other countries, Islamic law prohibits the employment of women in situations where they will

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have to interact with men. Such obstacles create a further set of structural barriers to full participation of women in economic development and S&T.

The following factors all influence the success of girls in S&T programmes:

— Poor science teaching in schools and differential treatment from teachers;

— Strong social pressure against excellence in science because it is seen as "unfeminine";

— Science curricula designed to relate to the interests of boys rather than girls;

— Socioeconomic and family background;

— Lack of female role models; and

— Cultural expectations.

Most of these issues were identified as deterrents to the participation of women in S&T by the ad hoc panel of experts organized by the UN Advisory Committee on Science and Technology for Development and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The panel made recommendations directly aimed at ameliorating the situation. However, most were implemented only partially or not at all. If such recommendations are to have an effect, they must be accompanied by a strong political will.

Women's experiences as scientists in the workplace usually differ from those of men. In the United States, female scientists are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, and their salaries are lower than those of equally qualified males. By 1990, women constituted only 4% of employed engineers and 30% of employed scientists, although by 1986 women had earned 30% of all

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first degrees in science and engineering. Moreover, employed female scientists and engineers tended to be young; in 1990, 39% of employed PhDs in science and engineering were under the age of 40, compared with 25% of their male counterparts.

In Britain, the trend is similar. The proportion of women scientists decreases at higher levels in industry, the civil service, and academia. The only scientific occupation in which women outnumber men is that of laboratory technician. Moreover, between 1980 and 1990, the proportion of women employed in engineering actually fell. In the civil service, women scientists are also underrepresented; in 1992, they constituted only 9% of "senior scientific officers." In British universities in 1991, of 24 000 full-time academic staff, women accounted for only 15.5% in the biological and physical sciences, chemistry, mathematics, computing, engineering, technology, and subjects allied to medicine.

Less information is available about employment opportunities for women scientists in developing countries. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain whether women are underrepresented because they are few in number or because employers discriminate against them, or perhaps both. For example, Ghana's Council for Scientific and Industrial Research employs 171 scientists, only 17 of them female and 9 of those in food research, but given the fact that the pool of female science graduates is low to begin with, this may be an accurate reflection of the proportion of female science graduates.

Women in academic science careers in the United States are less likely to be promoted to high rank and, in general, their professional advancement is much slower than that of men. In 1990–91, only 17% of female full-

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time faculty at US universities were full professors, compared with 44% of the men. In developing countries, the situation is similar. For example, only 10% of Côte d'Ivoire's full professors in 1987–88 were female. In the Chinese Academia Sinica, there are 286 female directors or deputy directors of research laboratories, accounting for 11.9% of the total.

During the past decade, there has been a steady, if modest, increase in the numbers of women scientists engaged in all sectors of research and industrial production. In China as elsewhere, however, women scientists are most likely to be concentrated in the biological sciences. For example in 1992, 47.3% of the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences's research projects were led by women. Moreover, there is some evidence that, as provisions for maternity leave and other benefits become enshrined in Chinese law, there is a growing tendency for employers to prefer to hire men. A Colombian study on research funding for social scientists found that over a 7-year period in the 1980s, three male investigators were funded for each female investigator, even though the numbers of male and female investigators and the quality of their research was equal.

A similar situation is emerging in some of the countries of Eastern Europe in face of growing unemployment. In Romania in 1994, 60% of the unemployed are women, and those who continue to be employed have sometimes kept their jobs only because they accepted lower salaries. In times of economic stress, women are often the first to be released from the workforce under the (often wrong) assumption that they will be supported by working husbands. Moreover, women are likely to receive fewer benefits such as for

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housing or tax allowances, as it is assumed that they will live with and be supported by husbands.

In all countries, employment prospects for female scientists are negatively affected by their need to combine professional and home responsibilities. Employers often assume that women's commitment to science will be less sustained than that of male colleagues, particularly if they are married and have families. This can have an effect not only on their decision to hire women scientists but also on the type of work to which women are assigned. Women's employment and promotion opportunities are frequently curtailed or hampered when they take time out for childbearing and rearing.

Sweden has made an attempt to equalize the situation for men and women with historic legislation in 1994 that fathers must take compulsory leave after the birth of a child. Another positive advancement during the past decade has been the increasing acceptance of family-planning policies in many developing countries. Finally, the interruptions of daily domestic life that are a reality for most working wives and mothers, are highly disruptive to the pursuit of science, especially scientific research. Periods of uninterrupted laboratory time are difficult to reconcile with the daily demands of domestic life.

Are women expected to make greater sacrifices than their male colleagues to succeed in science? Marriage and motherhood create pressures, expectations, and obligations that are sometimes at odds with total dedication to scientific research. Although there are many examples of women who manage to reconcile domestic and professional lives, it requires considerable organizational skill. This gives further credibility to the

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argument that neither the practice nor content of science is neutral and reinforces the feminist appeal for a rethinking of the fundamental assumptions of science.

Women scientists are often at a disadvantage in the workplace. They have a more difficult time finding employment; they receive lower salaries and slower promotions; and they must reconcile their private and public lives in an unobtrusive way. However, to a considerable extent these problems lend themselves to legislation. In fact, as noted above, Sweden has already made some progress in this direction.

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6

Education and Empowerment of Women

All over the world, education is regarded as the key factor in overcoming the barriers that women face and the basic tool for empowering women and bringing them into the main path of development. The rapid pace of development of science and technology (S&T) and their effect on all walks of life is apparent. No society can keep half its population from basic understanding of S&T developments. Education must play a vital role in establishing equality and empowering women.

In a fast-changing economy and global market trends, women's struggle for survival has become increasingly difficult as they encounter social and religious prejudices and economic disadvantages. Studies, particularly in developing countries, have revealed that there are wide disparities and inequalities between men and women in all areas, including access to education, health care, food, energy, income, and employment. Technological modernization has led to a concentration of women in domestic and labour-intensive activities. Women are being displaced from remunerative and skill-related employment as a result of the introduction of new

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technology in many regions of the world. The need to shift the focus from women as a target of welfare policies to women as a group for development has been felt by all development agencies, and S&T literacy must be used as a major tool.

Women — the traditional educators and health providers in the family — have benefited least from technological developments. They are the last to receive training, and their unrecorded and unpaid work in all fields, from domestic work to agriculture, has provided them with the fewest assets. Research shows that female literacy plays an important role in raising productivity levels and in reducing child mortality rates and population growth. Women must be exposed to various technologies (from simple to complex) and use them in their daily lives. Technology must be made woman friendly and women must learn to be comfortable with technology.

Currently, the majority of the world's out-of-school youth are female. In most regions, girls are underrepresented at every level of formal education. Keeping girls in school, even at the primary level, and their performance depend largely upon socioeconomic factors and upon the attitudes of teachers. When daily survival involves overcoming problems of pollution, malnutrition, and lack of basic health care, spending on women's education is a social investment. Research has shown a direct link between women's education and child-mortality rates, fertility rates, and income-generation activities.

Environmental degradation has affected women most by interfering with their daily quest for fodder, fuel, and water for their families. In most countries, women have been the primary environmental caretakers for

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generations, and they are often the custodians of indigenous knowledge about herbal medicines, agricultural practices, and food preservation. Yet policymakers continue to ignore the importance of women's interests and needs. Women's participation in the management of resources and in decision-making processes at every level will bring a new perspective to the system.

However, worldwide, one out of three women is illiterate compared with one out of five men. The discrepancy is even greater in developing countries where one in four men and one in two women are illiterate. More than 60% of illiterate people in the world are women (about 600 million). Over 100 million children of school age (mainly girls) do not attend school; most are in developing countries.

There is a great need to develop S&T courses with several entry and exit points. Materials and courses must be developed in local languages and must be easy to understand. Female leadership at the local and national levels must be encouraged. Programmes related to skills development to help women choose a career and work must be developed. Groups of educated, dedicated women must be formed to communicate aspects of science to local and rural women's groups.

Several recommendations resulting from United Nations (UN) forums have addressed the need to improve the quality of education females receive, remove obstacles to female access, ensure equity in access to S&T, provide adequate resources, and make S&T mandatory in the school system. Research indicates that there are no physical or intellectual barriers to women's full participation in S&T. However, in some countries,

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formidable legal, cultural, or socioeconomic barriers result in the continuing underutilization, devaluation, and disregard of the knowledge women can contribute to the male-dominated S&T fields. Harding presents a noteworthy argument for including women in S&T.

Since women are as potentially able as men to contribute to S&T, then national development, which depends on applications of S&T, will be limited if women are barred, and there will be a loss of talent to the nation. Lack of access to S&T prevents women from operating within S&T, where appropriate qualifications lead to financial rewards and interesting work. Barriers lead to alienation and transmission of that alienation to their children, particularly their daughters. Leaving women out results in a loss to science. Men and women bring different specific strengths and limitations to S&T. This is reflected in the type of thinking and problem solving associated with S&T.

Nevertheless, equity of access continues to be a major problem. In principle, nations have declared a commitment to equity in access to S&T and to provision of resources to achieve this objective. Unfortunately many economic and social constraints affect their ability to put these policies into practice. In many cultures, schooling is still seen as a necessity for males, but an expensive and useless experience for females; among the developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, 38% of school age girls never enrol in school. Even in countries where enrolment rates of females are high, the data do not always accurately reflect the actual situation. These rates often disguise the problems of absenteeism and dropout that occur predominantly in the female population because of the conflicting work and cultural

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demands on girls' time. For example, in India and Africa, girls are often withdrawn from school because of early marriage.

Even when girls do attend school, the generally poorer quality of girls' education contributes to lower S&T competence of girls. Because basic education is a requirement for access to S&T, those (mainly females) who are denied access at the basic levels tend to fall farther and farther behind, thus increasing gender inequities. Girls who do have access to basic education must still overcome immense problems as they strive for equity in access to S&T. Most schools still consider science to be a subject for boys, and girls are subsequently shunted into home economics and other "more appropriate" subjects. This practice is often fully supported and reinforced by teachers, guidance counsellors, family, and peers.

If girls do enrol in S&T programmes, they are faced with teachers who do not use gender-sensitive pedagogy, but employ teaching strategies that "shortchange" girls. At the secondary and tertiary level, a hostile and unaccommodating climate is also the norm. Those who survive these challenges move into a corporate climate that fosters inequity; to achieve success, females must be part of the "old boys' network." Given cultural norms, this is often not possible and women eventually reach a ceiling that prevents them from entering the upper echelons of science.

In 1980, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) initiated case studies of the access of women to S&T training and associated careers in Czechoslovakia, France, Malaysia, Senegal, and Venezuela, which resulted in training workshops,

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regional seminars, and fellowships. This initiative has led to some improvement in the quality of education for females in the participating countries.

Assist governments to formulate economic policy and training programmes to ensure equitable access to S&T by women and girls. Governments should be encouraged to adopt the following action strategies:

— Allocate resources to increase female literacy and their involvement in S&T;

— Develop and implement gender sensitivity and awareness training for educators and policymakers;

— Develop and implement strategies to increase access to general literacy programmes for females;

— Include science in general literacy programmes;

— Evaluate the effect of female involvement in S&T on cultural values and norms.

The successful enactment of this policy requires commitment from national leaders, top administrators, and funders, in principle and in practice; fundamental changes in ethical, cultural, and societal norms; and the involvement of women in the process of change. Economic and training programmes should be facilitated by Unesco, governmental agencies, nongovernmental agencies (NGOs), policymakers, educators, and others concerned. They should be informed by what is happening in other countries that are striving toward equity in access to S&T. Networks should be established to publish and disseminate successful models (with details of populations and strategies) to facilitate replication.

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6.1. S&T Curriculum

Over the past decade most UN recommendations on the teaching of S&T point to the need to develop "female friendly" science by reorganizing science curricula and textbooks to address women's needs and to create and sustain interest among female students. They also suggest that throughout the education system, from preschool to university level, both girls and boys should be exposed to the same curriculum and types of experience in the areas of science, technology, and technical skills, and children should be encouraged to develop an interest in science and become involved in activities that are considered "more proper" for the other sex.

Curriculum developers must integrate indigenous S&T into the frameworks they prepare for national or global curricula. Currently, the material included in curricula is often borrowed from highly industrialized sectors of society and holds little relevance for the people being introduced to S&T literacy. Irrelevance is a major cause of the massive dropout rate in science. Children and adult members of society need to hear and understand the impact of S&T on their lives; for example, why they should stop polluting streams. Appropriate curricula transmit such information, and giving this information to more women increases the chance of the ideas becoming inculcated into our societies.

Education must be relevant to people's lives. Curricular reform can address gender roles either by being designed to fit existing roles, or by attempting to alter traditional roles and provide new opportunities for both boys and girls to meet the challenges and needs of a technologically driven society. Local policymakers need to determine which of these directions is appropriate,

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and curriculum developers need to produce appropriate S&T curricula that will foster progress in that direction and facilitate gender equity.

Most nations have been involved in S&T curriculum revision, and some have included components on gender issues. However, because of the lack of coordination between teacher educators and curriculum developers, issues addressed during the S&T curriculum-revision process often are not included in teacher-training programmes. Teachers are not taught adequate gender sensitivity and the awareness necessary to implement the revised classroom curricula. Consequently, few nations have made a concerted attempt to provide girls and boys with the same kinds of experiences.

Some recommendations are;

— Identify in each culture the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes needed by citizens to function productively in a technological society.

— Identify in each culture whether S&T education should conform with existing gender roles or should provide opportunities for both boys and girls to meet the challenges of technologically driven society.

— Provide resources to develop a relevant S&T curriculum that includes elements of "Western" and indigenous S&T and is designed to foster interest and participation of both girls and boys, to create a scientifically and technologically literate population.

The following action strategies should be adopted:

— Determine the relevance of S&T education for the country.

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— Identify issues that influence the country's ability to incorporate S&T into its educational programmes.

— Establish whether traditional gender roles should continue to define girls' educational needs.

— Educate parents about the appropriateness of science for girls.

— Develop plans to educate girls for roles in an S&T-literate society congruent with parental perceptions of relevance and their aspirations for their daughters.

— Develop S&T curricula and textbooks that are "female friendly" and capable of encouraging girls' participation and interest in S&T.

— Where appropriate, incorporate in curricula elements of S&T that are traditionally deemed more suitable for the other sex.

Policy recommendations in this area have generally addressed teacher educators' need to be sensitive to the issues of gender and the importance of these issues to the outcomes of all education and training programmes. Because of the ever-changing and expanding world of S&T, administrators must ensure and support appropriate preservice and continuing-service provisions for those responsible for all forms of S&T education by formulating guidelines for the preparation and continuous professional development of S&T educators. They must also provide leadership, coupled with assistance, to countries implementing them. Nations must recognize the central role of teachers in achieving S&T literacy for everyone and enhance the status of careers in S&T education at all levels.

Achievement in and attitudes toward science are significantly influenced by teachers. Particularly at the

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elementary level, teachers often demonstrate a negative attitude toward science, which is transmitted to students. The "Pygmalion syndrome" — differential treatment based on expectations affects achievement — plays a significant role in female science achievement. If teachers expect males to be good at math and females to be good at reading then the students will live up to these expectations. Teachers interact differently with the sexes and for varying amounts of time: during reading lessons, females receive greater attention; during math and science classes, teachers interact more with males and give them more encouragement.

Again, coordination between curriculum developers and teacher trainers is lacking, gender issues addressed in revised S&T curricula are not adequately addressed in the implemented curricula. Teachers must be aware of contemporary research findings on gender and S&T. Part of their training must include exposure to research findings on teacher–student interactions and the teacher's attitudes and expectations in the S&T classroom. This is an area in which most teacher educators also need training.

Teacher-education programmes are slowly beginning to introduce modules on gender sensitization and development of strategies to ensure equity in the classroom, largely because of the inclusion of equity issues on the agenda of the annual conferences of many S&T education associations. Workshop manuals on sex stereotyping developed by Unesco have also been useful to some countries.

Some policy recommendations are;

— Develop strategies to ensure gender sensitization and gender equity in the S&T classroom and in all S&T training programmes.

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— In addition, the following action should be taken: educate policymakers, teacher trainers, and researchers on key S&T gender issues.

— Pedagogical and contextual frameworks in which S&T is taught

Previous recommendations have pointed to the need to provide positive and appropriate learning experiences and environments for females. Educators have been called upon to provide a positive and appropriate learning experience so that young women can develop self-esteem. Governments, industry, public- and private-sector interests, and education and other authorities in all countries have been asked to review existing provisions for S&T education at all levels and in all settings, giving attention to development and maintenance of learning programmes responsive to the needs of individuals and communities, and to establish teaching and learning milieus that are conducive to achieving S&T literacy for all.

In addition, effective communication, assessment, and evaluation strategies must be developed. Inappropriate pedagogy is the major factor influencing girls' negative attitude toward S&T and their decision to drop out of science and math courses at the elementary and junior high-school levels. Research indicates that girls' attitudes toward science, their achievement, and experiences in science decline considerably during high school.

At the college level, most problems shared by female students are structural or cultural, notably poor teaching, faculty who are unapproachable, the fast pace of curricula, work overload, insufficient faculty help through periods of academic difficulty, inadequate

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preparation in high school, and financial difficulties. Language encourages and strengthens societal norms and mores, but the language used in science and mathematics often reflects a male bias inadvertently directing females away from the field.

Females are more likely to experience "math and science anxiety" than males. They believe that these subjects become more difficult as they progress through school, causing their anxiety to increase. Coupled with inadequate pedagogy, this creates a downhill spiral to S&T illiteracy. Implementing the recommendations mentioned above depends on the ability of teachers to use appropriate methods.

6.1.1. Gender Stereotyping

Previous recommendations have highlighted the need to eliminate gender stereotyping and suggest the development and implementation of strategies and programmes as early as the preschool stage to counteract it. All curricula and teaching–learning materials should be free from stereotypical images of males and females. Guidelines designed to eliminate gender biases and discriminatory practices should be developed on a regional basis and made available to those involved in the administration of educational services in every territory.

A concerted effort is required to eliminate gender biases and stereotyping and promote S&T as avenues for all. Many teachers still identify a scientist as white, male, bald, boring, and unattractive. This inaccurate image is patly due to their lack of interaction with scientists. The traditional image of a mathematician, engineer, scientist,

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or medical doctor has been a white man, although this image is evolving to include Asians of either sex.

Textbooks and many classroom instructional materials continue to reinforce the invisibility of women in science and girls continue to perceive science as a masculine domain. Stereotypes, including media images that show only men as users of science, influence parents' expectations for their children and students' expectations for themselves. These attitudes may cause females to consider more stereotypical female disciplines and be less motivated in science and math. They also believe that the time needed to pursue careers in science will usurp time they need to engage in their traditional roles as wife and mother. The traditional gender-role beliefs of household responsibilities and child-rearing practices keep many women away from S&T.

In 1981, Unesco's section on Equality of Educational Opportunity for Girls and Women launched a programme aimed at promoting better awareness and understanding of the problem of sex stereotyping in educational materials; stimulating and encouraging action to eliminate such stereotyping; and developing positive attitudes with regard to equality and mutual respect between men and women. This programme included eight national studies and three regional guides for North America and Western Europe, the Arab World, and Asia and the Pacific. The guides present an excellent rationale for eliminating sex stereotyping, with evidence of problems created by stereotyping and workshop interventions for eliminating stereotyping. They could be used successfully in S&T teacher-training programmes.

In the formal education system, girls often avoid science courses because they lack confidence in their

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ability to pursue science careers and they do not wish to go against the expectations of teachers, peers, and parents. Girls' interest in science decreases as they move from elementary through high school. Accompanying this decrease is a perception of the irrelevance of science to their lives.

Males exhibit greater confidence in their mathematics and science abilities; they view themselves as math learners and have higher expectations of future math courses. Science is perceived as a masculine realm. Consequently, males are more inclined to offer assistance to less able peers and, in the process, learn more science themselves. Females, even when they perform equally or better than males, believe that science is better understood by males. As a result, girls take the minimum number of science and mathematics classes for graduation from high school and, subsequently, will probably not meet the science requirements of most 4-year college courses.

Research emanating from the Center for Research on Women highlights four factors that keep undergraduate women in science:

— Encouragement from parents, with mothers' encouragement being as important as fathers';

— Consistent encouragement from mentors and overall interest in the experiences of the student;

— Opportunities to do hands-on research, which is critical to the choice of specialization as well as to whether women stay in science after college; and

— Comprehensive career advice about a range of science-related jobs.

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Providing adequate pedagogy, curricula, facilities, equipment, and supplies for teaching girls is an excellent first step toward increasing their participation, but the situation requires continuous monitoring.

Policy recommendations are;

— Develop guidelines to eliminate gender bias and discriminatory practices in S&T education.

— Provide infrastructure and funding to develop networking of female scientists, educators, and students.

— Provide infrastructure and funding for international interaction and teacher training to increase the involvement of girls in S&T.

— Develop monitoring systems to ensure progress toward sustained effectiveness of gender equity in S&T teaching and learning.

The following action strategies must be adopted.

— Identify and adapt teaching content, methods, and student activities to provide a positive experience for girls and women in classroom settings, especially through the use of techniques that are proven to be effective for females.

— Promote and replicate a broader range of gender-fair methods for testing and assessing S&T.

— Design S&T lessons that show males and females in non-traditional roles and depict successful women in S&T.

— Encourage formation of and participation in both regional and international forums to exchange information and data on successful implementations.

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— Design data-collection systems that are always disaggregated by gender.

— Examine the effect of S&T education policies and programmes on females and males.

6.1.2. Nonformal S&T Education

An appreciation of nonformal education for S&T literacy is a concept that has developed only in the last two decades, and the various non-formal and formal methods and techniques used in different regions of the world still require careful study and analysis. A diversity of programmes and a variety of media have emerged in different societies and one must be careful in using or adapting the ones that are suitable to the social and cultural fabric of the society.

6.1.3. Nonformal Education

Educators have felt the limitations of the formal education system in a rapidly changing society that is experiencing a population explosion. Because of its rigid structure and limited resources, the formal system is constrained in some areas. S&T literacy, for example, can be attained through out-of-school learning or through learning in informal situations. Decentralization of the development process, action at a local level, and participation by communities are important in creating scientific awareness.

The strength of the non-formal system lies in its diversity, its vitality, and its ability to respond quickly and creatively to local needs. Materials that provide enjoyment and flexibility have also been missing in the formal system, but can be carefully woven into a

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nonformal science education and popularization programme. Science centres and museums all over the world have a positive role to play in creating scientific literacy. In the last three decades, such institutions have adopted innovative approaches, such as the shift from "touch me not" exhibits to participatory, "hands on" experiences. Science centres operate on the principle that exploration of science is a joyful activity. They emphasize learning by doing, rather than the type of teaching that takes place in schools.

Planning new science and interpretive centres now requires a basic line of thought or parameters, not simple imitation of what developed countries have done. This philosophy is critical in developing countries, where the real needs and aspirations of common people in the various socioeconomic groups are quite different. A cultural backdrop must be woven into the process. A common characteristic of all visitors to science centres is their curiosity, interest, and desire to learn something. Science centres in developing countries have a greater responsibility, because more than half of the children there have never been to school or have left school before completing primary level.

Background experience plays an important role in learning science. The preexisting, sometimes mistaken or naive theories of people visiting science centres must be accounted for in any exhibit design or development strategy. Understanding these preconceptions is indispensable in developing strategies to enhance the effectiveness of informal science experiences; extensive research is required in this area. Few science centres in the world have developed effective programmes for women. Science centres should steer away from science "gimmicks," presenting science as something mysterious, and exhibits that do not reveal the way they work.

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7

Education Making Gender Equality

In most developing countries, the private returns to girls' education - the economic benefits that families will receive - are usually much lower than the social returns, and also lower than the returns to boys' education. This conspires with other factors to encourage families to give priority to boys' schooling. The poorer the family, and the more difficult and costly it is for them to send children to school, the more likely girls are to be squeezed out by this logic. The precise causes and consequences of gender inequality in basic education obviously vary from country to country, but there is a common set of constraints that have to be tackled. The most important of these are:

— Endemic poverty.

— Schooling costs.

— The burden of household labour.

— Shortage of school facilities, especially in rural areas.

— Negative and even dangerous school environments.

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— Cultural and social practices that discriminate against girls, including early marriage and restrictions on female mobility.

— Limited employment opportunities for women.

Despite impressive progress in increasing primary and secondary enrolments for girls, gender inequalities persist in both primary and secondary schooling in nearly all of the countries. A variety of factors from home, community, and school, determine educational outcomes. Girls, however, face additional obstacles in enrolling and attending school. Girls are trapped in a vicious circle. Because they face such difficulties in doing well at school, many of them struggle to complete their education and to pass key national examinations. As a result, their parents are less inclined to invest heavily in their education.

7.1. Discrimination in Educational Oppotunities

Cultural and social beliefs, attitudes and practices prevent girls from benefiting from educational opportunities to the same extent as boys. There is often a powerful economic and social rationale for investing in the education of sons rather than daughters. In most countries, formal employment in both the public and private sectors continues to be dominated by men. Consequently, the chances of a young woman, especially from a poor rural background, finding a 'good job' remain extremely limited.

In Ethiopia, for example, only 18 per cent of senior officials and managers, and 25 per cent of technical and associated professionals, are women. Boy preference is

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most acute in South Asian countries, where sons remain 'in the family' and are expected to support them in their old age, whereas daughters marry, normally in their mid to late teens, and become members of another family. Parents in Mali also commonly regard girls' education as a 'lost investment' because it is the future husband's family who reaps the returns, not them.

More generally, highly unequal gender relations strongly militate against the education of girls. 'In a patriarchal system where the man decides everything and the woman listens or accepts orders, it will be difficult to decide together as to who should go to school... Children's voices are not heard nor are they allowed to give their opinion, especially if they are girls'. However, it is important to emphasise that parental decision making with regard to schooling is complicated and multidimensional. Their preferences can change fast when the direct and indirect costs of educating girls drop considerably.

Egyptian parents who claimed strong resistance to girls' education changed their minds almost overnight when schools were conveniently constructed nearby. In Pakistan, poor parents are fond of quoting a saying that it is pointless to 'put gasoline into someone else's car'. However, recent surveys in the highly 'conservative' provinces of North West Frontier and Baluchistan show that the same parents increasingly aspire for both sons and daughters to get a good enough education to become doctors, civil servants, teachers and business people. What was assumed to be parental opposition to girls' education, turned out to be a lack of accessible and affordable education opportunities: in North West Frontier Province until quite recently, more than 40 per

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cent of villages had no government-funded schools that were open to girls.

Parents' attitudes also change fast when the private returns to girls' education increase (as a result of employment opportunities opening up for women, or as a result of incentive programmes which 'pay' parents for keeping their daughters in school). The rapid expansion of the textile industry in Bangladesh and Cambodia while not a panacea for improving women's status, has had a positive impact on girls' education in both countries. In Africa, although the overall impact of recent economic reforms on women is controversial, there has been growth in sectors such as tourism and financial services, which employ relatively large proportions of women.

At the same time, male-dominated skilled manual employment has contracted in many countries as a result of economic liberalisation and de-industrialisation. However, most developing countries made only limited progress in expanding female employment opportunities during the 1990s. Given the very direct link between education and obtaining a good job, this has been a major disincentive for parents to educate girls. The main problem is that wage employment is growing far too slowly. As long as this situation persists, incentives or subsidies to parents will have a crucial role to play in increasing girls' enrolment and completion. Such measures are economically sound since gains in women's education have a direct role to play in increasing the rate of economic growth.

7.2. Child Marriage

The low value attached to girls' education reinforces

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early marriage, and vice-versa. In the late 1990s, the median age of marriage in Malawi was 17.1, Mali 16.1, Nepal, 16.5 and Nigeria 17.2. In Nepal, 40 per cent of girls are married by the age of 15. Too often, marriage is seen as a higher priority than education. In Mali, for example, 'parents' unwavering expectations of marriage for their girls is combined with cultural traditions that the woman enters into her husband's family upon marriage and, is in many ways, 'lost' to her parental family. Indeed, the prevailing social and cultural norms for girls prepare them for adult lives as wives and mothers'.

The mean age of marriage in Ethiopia is 15.6. However, in some parts of rural Ethiopia, girls as young as five or seven years of age are 'betrothed' and sent to live with their 'in-laws'. These girls either do not get to school at all, or have to stop their education in order to work in the home of their husband and his family. In Ethiopia, the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) has launched a campaign to return such girls to their birth families and get them enrolled in school. In order to counter such practices, the legal age of majority has been raised from 15 years to 18 years. But this will not be easy to implement given the entrenched cultural traditions surrounding marriage.

Due to overage enrolment and late entry, girls are often still in primary school when they are expected to marry. And having children at a young age also seriously affects both their health and their future employment prospects. However, marriage does not always work against girls' education. For example, where the girl's family receives dowry or bride price (as in many parts of Africa), then there are incentives to educate daughters.

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And in Muslim countries such as Bangladesh, where girls are no longer secluded and most are attending school, being educated can, in some circumstances, help to 'secure' a husband from a higher social class.

In the Punjab in Pakistan, however, the necessity to give dowry impedes education since some families would either save money for their daughter's dowry or education. In some African countries, girls are absent from school in order to participate in circumcision ceremonies in preparation for marriage. Many parents also withdraw their daughters from school because local and national authorities are failing to protect girl pupils from sexual abuse, creating a very real fear of their becoming pregnant or contracting HIV. A significant proportion of female dropout in the higher grades of secondary school is due to pregnancy in many countries, especially in Eastern and Southern Africa.

It is important however not to overstate cultural and social constraints. All cultures are changing, especially as they come under growing pressures from outside influences. If the incentives are right (in terms of costs and facilities), then girls will be sent to school. Parental resistance to sending their daughters to school on the grounds of culture can be overcome if schooling is of a reasonable quality and schools themselves are not too far away and are safe.

The direct costs of sending all children to school are usually too high for poor parents. While primary school tuition fees have now been abolished in many countries, nearly all developing countries still require parents to pay charges of various kinds - in many cases, these charges are far more hefty than the tuition fees. These include books, stationery, exam fees, uniforms,

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contributions to 'building funds', levies imposed by the school management committees, informal 'tips' to teachers, and travel costs.

In Tanzania, prior to the removal of school fees, it cost about half of the annual income of poor rural families to send a child to primary school for one year. Simple arithmetic shows that poor families would be unable to send more than one child to school. Tuition fees alone cost one month's salary, but other expenses - notably uniforms, exam fees, books and stationery - were even steeper.

Secondary school tuition fees alone still cost Tanzanian families the equivalent of three months' minimum wage. Parents in 234 villages in rural India cited 'unaffordability' as the single most important factor keeping children out of school. The cost of educating a single child was equivalent to 40 days' wages for an agricultural laborer.

In Nepal, the poorest 20 per cent of households spend more than 40 per cent of their income to send one child to primary school. Fees and charges for education have been shown to affect girls' chances to learn, far more than boys. Fees undermine demand for girls' education by adding to the already high opportunity costs of sending girls to school. Particularly when employment prospects for girls are very limited, the willingness of parents to find the money to meet these costs is understandably low.

In Kenya, following the introduction of cost-sharing policies, a study of seven districts found that girls were twice as likely as boys to be withdrawn from school on cost grounds. Girls' costs may also be significantly higher than boys if uniforms are required: one study in Guinea

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found that the annual cost of primary education was $2 more for girls out of a total average of $18.

7.3. Compulsory Education

In most countries, primary education is compulsory by law, but this is rarely enforced. Therefore, parents are free to decide whether or not to send their children to school. UN Special Rapporteur Katarina Tomasevski points out that there is a powerful human rights rationale for making education compulsory. She argues that compulsory education laws impose strong obligations on governments to provide a functioning countrywide education system; to make education free and to provide social assistance to parents who cannot otherwise afford the indirect costs (transport, meals, etc.) of fulfilling their legal obligation to send children to school. Compulsory education is also important in tackling child labour, as the legally mandated length of compulsory education has long been linked to the minimum age of employment.

In Ethiopia, civil society groups are campaigning for a compulsory education law in the hope that this will strengthen the enforcement of existing legislation against early marriage. Where governments do provide free education, and extra assistance is universally available to poor families to send children to school, then there is a strong rationale for enforcing compulsory education in order to combat lingering cultural and social discrimination against girls and other marginalised groups.

'Needed at home' and/or 'need to earn money' are major reasons why poor girls dropout of school in most countries (Figures 1). Opportunity costs refer to labour

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time lost to the parent when the child goes to school. These opportunity costs of schooling are usually much higher for girls than for boys, since girls are expected to do more domestic work than boys. By the age of 10, girls in Bangladesh and Nepal may be working up to 10 hours a day in productive activity inside and outside the home, while Ethiopian girls of primary age work for 14-16 hours a day.

A study in Egypt showed that girls do 85 per cent of the household chores given to rural children, whereas boys only do 15 per cent. Girls often have to walk long distances to fetch water and firewood as well as look after young siblings. In addition to their domestic chores at home, girls are expected to do work around the school, leaving very little time to study and complete homework. They are often too exhausted to be able to concentrate in class. Sometimes girls and boys are able to juggle work at home with school, but attendance often suffers.

In some cultural and economic settings, girls and boys have high rates of absenteeism. For example, if the harvest is underway, both boys and girls frequently take time off from school. For this reason, in rural areas, flexible timetables have been suggested. Official dropout rates would be a lot higher if the long periods absent from school were taken into consideration.

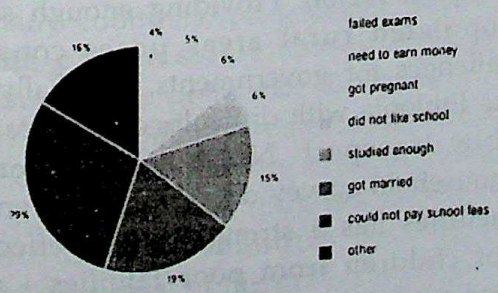

Figure 1. Reasons for never attending/dropping out of school among 6-17 year olds in India, 1999 (percentages)

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In Nepal, girls contribute at least 50 per cent more labour than boys. Their workload also increases with age; girls aged 10-14 years spend 3.5 hours per day, compared with 2.2 hours for boys. Out-of-school girls and boys in the same age group both work, on average, nearly 10 hours a day. It is usually for reasons of poverty that most of the families do not send their daughters to school. However, in India, parents who have small farms place greater demands on their children's time than landless parents do. The amount and type of domestic work required of girls often depends on birth order.

In India, it is common for older girls to be kept at home to look after younger siblings, and they often miss out on schooling altogether. In the context of HIV/AIDS in high prevalence countries in Africa, the burden of work at home for girls is particularly acute as they are increasingly required to stay at home to nurse sick relatives, look after siblings and do domestic tasks normally done by adults.

7.3.1. *Location and Facilities of Government Schools*

In some parts of Malawi, children walk between 2.5 and 10km to school. In Mali, the average distance to school exceeds 7km in rural regions compared with less than 1km in the capital region. Providing enough schools in sparsely populated rural areas poses considerable financial challenges for governments, especially in large countries like Ethiopia with difficult communications and limited public transport. Nevertheless, World Bank analysis of household survey data shows that an increase in school facilities has a strong positive effect on the enrolment of children from poor families - probably because there simply aren't enough schools to meet demand in the areas where poor people live.

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Ministry of Education planners don't always take girls' enrolment targets into consideration when determining how many schools should be built (whether by head of population or by geographical radius). The need to travel long distances to school is a particular barrier for girls, especially (but not only) in countries where a cultural premium is placed on female seclusion. For reasons of safety and security, most parents are reluctant to let their daughters walk long distances to school. What parents define as an acceptable distance for girls to travel varies from country to country.

In Egypt, another study found that girls' enrolment dropped off sharply when schools were located more than 1.5km away, while in Pakistan the threshold was 1km. Distance can also add to the total cost of sending a child to school, and in that way can further reduce the likelihood that girls will get the same chance as boys to attend school. In parts of Sub-Saharn Africa and South Asia, the compelling shortage of secondary school places has fuelled the expansion of private schools. Within the private and non-government sector, there is huge diversity in standards, location and quality. In most countries, private schools are supposed to be registered with the government, but this is not always the case.

In many countries, particularly in South Asia, the burgeoning private sector has attracted mainly male students due to boy preference. In India, parents tend to regard private schools as being superior to government schools because they are more exam-oriented, have better teacher discipline, and English is the medium of instruction. In some countries (including India and Nepal), the expansion of the private secondary school has resulted in expanded enrolments of girls in government secondary schools. Although the private sector is

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relieving governments of the burden of providing secondary education facilities, there is clearly a real concern that the rapid expansion of private education is creating a two-tiered system that entrenches inequalities based on social class, caste and gender.

In short, the encouragement of private education can actually undermine the attainment of gender and education objectives. A large and growing private education sector means that politically powerful middle class turn their backs on public education and are less prepared to lobby for key improvements, including gender equity, or to back the tax increases that will ultimately be needed to finance such improvements. Schools fail to motivate or encourage girls It is widely believed that the limited number of female teachers in both primary and secondary school is a major constraint to girls' education.

The presence of female teachers tends to make schools more girl and boy-friendly and provide role models for girls. Alternative and community schools generally have a higher proportion of women teachers than government schools, perhaps because few or no qualifications are required. Teacher deployment in some countries is so blatantly corrupt that it is impossible for rational and objective staffing practices to be adopted. Access for young women to teacher training colleges remains a major issue. Nepal still has no women teachers in 40 per cent of primary schools. Likewise, the majority of single and two teacher schools in rural and remote areas of India have no female teachers. The Bangladeshi government established a quota of 60 per cent for women teachers in all primary schools in 1991 and relaxed teacher qualification requirements. However, the proportion of women teachers in primary and secondary

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government schools increased by only 10 per cent and five per cent during the 1990s.

Across the developing world, typically less than one-quarter of primary school teachers are women. In rural and remote areas, there are usually even fewer female teachers - just 15 per cent in Cambodia, for example. In Nepal, nearly two-thirds of primary school teachers in Kathmandu are women, but only 15 per cent in the Far West Region.

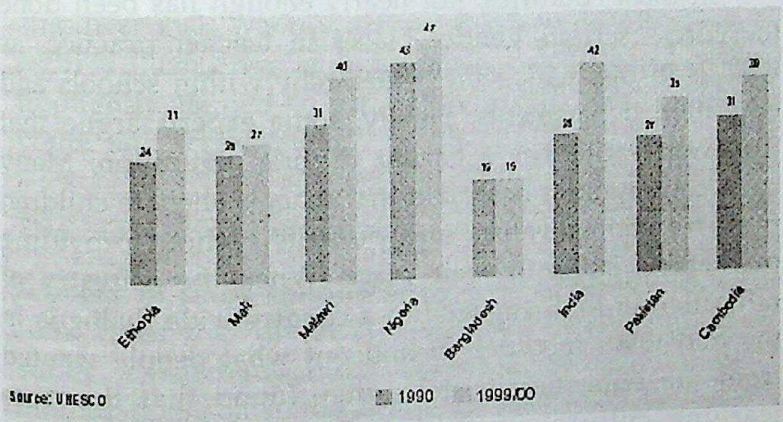

Figure 2. Women teachers as a percentage of total primary school teachers, 1990 and 1999/00 (percentages)

This is despite the fact that it is official policy that every primary school has at least one female teacher. The proportion of female teachers in the upper grades of primary is also much lower than that of males. This reflects the failure of girls to make it through to secondary school and obtain teaching qualifications.

However, in male-dominated education systems, it is sometimes the case that some women teachers may themselves have negative attitudes about girls' abilities. Women teachers are themselves struggling with the

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burden of gender inequity which, in turn, perpetuates cycles of inequitable socialisation. Considerable progress has been made in designing more gender-sensitive curricula. However, the use of textbooks with stereotypical images of women and men is still common in many countries. Women are consistently depicted solely as mothers and housewives, while men are portrayed in adventurous and decisive roles associated with breadwinners and property owners.

In most countries, not nearly enough has been done to redress serious gender biases in teacher practice, as well as in the management hierarchy within schools and education departments. Finally, some experts argue that irrelevant content is a barrier to girls' education. Many rural communities complain that schools alienate children from traditional values and pursuits without providing marketable skills in their place. When the Ministry of Education in Mali engaged in a country-wide dialogue in the mid-1990s in order to find out what people wanted from the education system, they found that the 'rote learning culture' of public schools in Mali strongly discouraged girls from attending school. Parents also stressed that 'today when our children leave school they are not prepared to do anything'.

The introduction of practical skills or locally-based material to the curriculum is certainly a long-standing policy aim in Africa and South Asia. There are some successful experiences: in Cambodia, for example, topics on integrated pest management been introduced into the curriculum with assistance from World Education and the Ministry of Agriculture in order to teach children about improved methods of growing environmentally safe rice. Although not targeted at girls exclusively, girls and boys are expected to participate equally.

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NGOs have powerfully demonstrated and advocated the need for education that enhances children's capacity and self-confidence to address real-life challenges. For girls, knowledge and self-belief in sexual and reproductive health matters can be transformative; in the context of the AIDS epidemic, it has become a life-and-death issue. But promoting awareness of students' rights as citizens and as women is equally important. Most fundamentally, as captured by the South Asian concept of 'joyful learning', education perhaps does most to empower girls when it affords children the confidence to express themselves as individuals - an experience that is frequently denied to girls throughout the rest of their youth and socialisation.

7.3.2. *Failure of Protection*

Schools in most countries are not girl-friendly and in some cases, they are even hazardous for girls. Schoolgirls suffer sexual harassment, bullying and other forms of intimidation, sometimes even rape; these abuses too often meet with silence and inaction from local and national authorities. In large classes there is not much effective learning, this is compounded by gender bias in the curriculum and the fact that girls are often expected to spend time sweeping the classroom, tending the teacher's vegetable garden, or even making tea for the teachers, rather than studying.

Traditional attitudes towards the social roles of women often dominate in the classroom and in the interpretation of the curriculum. The dominance of males in wider society is usually mirrored in the management and organisation of the school. In some countries, including large parts of India, gender segregation persists

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in the classroom. Teachers also routinely use biased language that reinforces class, caste and gender distinctions. Research has shown that children from poor and lower caste backgrounds are particularly discriminated against and sometimes subject to beatings and forms of verbal abuse. This is not helped by the fact that most teachers in India come from upper castes. Teachers frequently pay more attention in class to boys than girls.

A study in Nigeria showed that while positive interactions between teacher and student were almost equally divided between boys and girls in the early years of schooling, by the sixth grade, teachers were significantly more positive towards boys than girls, and boys also took more of teachers' time than girls. This type of behaviour tends to perpetuate the already low selfimage of many young girls. Bullying by older children is common in many schools.

Faced with such difficult and hostile environments, it is not surprising that many girls drop out because they 'did not like school' (Figure 2). Failure to provide adequate physical facilities, like toilets and running water, is an inconvenience for boys, but a disaster for girls. During menstruation, most girls will not attend school if there are not basic toilet facilities. Also, sexual harassment can occur unless separate toilets for girls and boys are provided.

Yet, one-third of public schools in Nepal have no separate toilets for girls. Even in the DPEP states of India, only 30 per cent of schools have proper toilets. Even when toilets have been built, they are often poorly serviced and maintained. The long list of constraints that result in sizeable gender gaps in many countries [2025 Grant

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very formidable and daunting. Surely it is not possible to tackle the underlying causes of these inequalities in just a few years? However, a number of countries, including Bangladesh and Malawi, have made remarkable progress during the last decade or so in increasing girls' enrolments in both primary and secondary school and dramatically reducing, and indeed eliminating altogether, the gender gap in enrolments and achievements.

7.4. Making Gender Equality

Giving all girls a fair chance to learn is practical, affordable and essential. There can be no more excuses for governments, both in the South and the North, to avoid committing the necessary resources to make gender equality a reality for the 65 million girls who are currently unfairly denied access to education. This is a massive injustice that must end - now. To date, only a handful of governments have made the elimination of gender inequality in education a top priority.

The reality is that those denied their right to education usually have little political voice, while people in power in most countries have little personal stake in the government school system. On both counts, it has been easy until now for decision-makers to ignore the educational needs of girls and poor people. Without sustained political commitment backed up by civil society as a whole, the same fate will befall the current gender targets as did the Jomtien targets during the 1990s. Overcoming these political constraints will require organised pressure by all sections of civil society. As the process of democratisation gathers pace, governments will be obliged to take these demands seriously.

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At the same time, the stark reality is that most countries with large numbers of out-of-school girls are too poor to tackle this problem without a substantial increase in aid and debt relief from the North - where a girl's right to education has been guaranteed for many decades. Bi-lateral and multilateral agencies must act on their commitment to dramatically and rapidly increase aid to basic education, starting with the immediate delivery of funds already promised via the EFA Fast Track Initiative.

A generalised expansion of primary education is necessary but not sufficient to achieve the education MDGs. Action must also be to address the genderspecific discrimination and disadvantage that confronts girls at every step along the way, from year one enrolment, to secondary school graduation. Each country must develop, as a matter of urgency, a comprehensive strategy for gender equality in education. Governments therefore need to translate the 2005 and 2015 goals into clear operational targets, and put these targets at the heart of their education sector and poverty reduction plans.

Even though 2005 is less than two years away, no country is so far off track that it cannot eliminate gender gaps in rural and urban primary and secondary school intake rates by 2005. The next challenge is to ensure that completion rates between boys and girls are equalised by 2010. The largest gender gaps are in rural areas. So it is important to have separate rural and urban intake and completion targets.

On this timetable, gender enrolment parity will finally be achieved in 2011 for primary education and 2009 for secondary education. We cannot afford to let this target slip. In order to achieve the goal of universal

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completion of primary education by 2015, it is necessary for all eligible children, both girls and boys, to start primary school on time by 2009/10, and to complete the primary cycle five or six years later. The essential statistics on rural and urban intake and completion rates, that are needed to make robust estimates for these targets, are simply unavailable in most countries.

Clear, time-bound targets must be backed up by the necessary commitment of resources and proper management systems. Gender targets should be incorporated into the performance targets, appraisal systems and career incentives facing every education worker, from Ministers down to classroom teachers. Bilateral and multilateral donors should also translate the education MDGs into clear outcome targets for their own support to girls' education. While the trend towards comprehensive sector development plans and budgetary support may make it difficult or impossible to disaggregate how much aid has been committed to 'girls' education' per se, donors could set specific targets for how many out-of-school girls their aid programmes will have assisted to enter school by 2005, and to enter and complete school by 2010.

Figure 3 shows the sizes of the target increases in female entry Grade 1 enrolments for 2005. These intake targets have been calculated on the assumption that female gross intake rates in 2005 are equalised with the intake rates for males in 2000. In reality though, it is unlikely that male intake rates would freeze in this way, especially in fast expanding primary education systems. Grade 1 intakes will have to increase by nearly 60 per cent in Ethiopia and Mali, and nearly 40 per cent in India, if this intake parity target is to be achieved. It is

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much less in Cambodia (just eight per cent) and, given demographic trends, it is negative for Bangladesh. Elsewhere, these targets are over 60 per cent for most French-speaking African countries.

Assuming that it would be possible to achieve gender parity with respect to enrolment ratios by 2005, Figure 4 shows that South and West Asia poses the greatest challenge, followed by the Middle East and North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Gender enrolment parity has already been largely achieved in Latin America, the Caribbean, and East Asia and the Pacific.

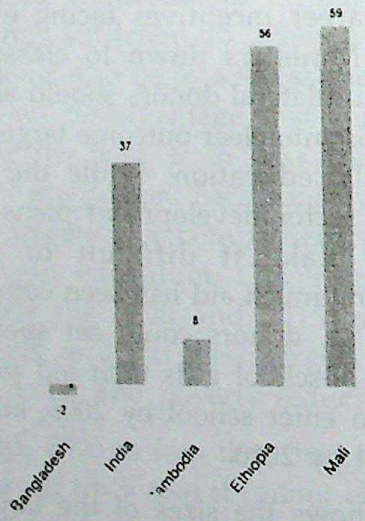

Figure 3. Target percentage increase in girl intakes to primary school by 2005 (percentages)

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the overall female net enrolment rate will have to almost double from its current level in order to meet the 2015 target (Figure 4). Among the group of French-speaking African countries where gender inequalities are particularly acute, female enrolments will have to increase by over 200 per cent

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(assuming zero repetition), compared with around 120 per cent for males. In Southern Africa, on the other hand, female enrolments will only have to increase by six per cent to meet the 2015 target, mainly because of the impact of HIV/AIDS on the school-aged population.

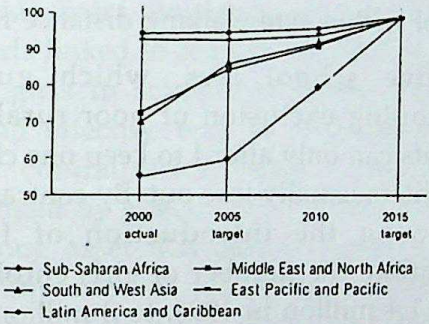

Figure 4. Target female net enrollment rates to meet the 2005 and 2015 education MDGs

Clearly, there is no single blueprint that can be rolled out for all countries. In order to achieve the 2005 and 2015 education goals, governments and donors must work together to:

1) End the education queue: There are only a few developing countries in which affluent males have not already achieved universal primary education. There are only a few developing countries in which poor, rural girls are even close to achieving the same. In India, for example, nearly a third of rural girls have never been to school, and in Ethiopia, the figure climbs to almost two-thirds. Gender gaps are often greatest in countries where overall net enrolments are low. By failing to increase access so that there are enough free school places to accommodate all of the boys and all of the girls, governments create an education queue in which the

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poorest and least privileged groups, including girls, are almost certain to come last. The following steps are needed to get rid of this queue:

— Build enough schools and hire enough teachers to guarantee that all communities are served by a school within safe walking distance for girls.

— Remove school fees, which guarantee the continuing exclusion of poor rural girls. When parents can only afford to keep one child in school, daughters usually lose out. By contrast, in Uganda, following the introduction of free primary education, the number of girls enrolled increased from 1.4 million in 1996, to 3 million in 1999, and girls' share in total enrolment has steadily grown.

— Expand 'bridging' schemes developed by NGOs to attract hard-to-reach children into the school system.

— To avoid recreating the queue at secondary level, governments must plan to rapidly extend free and universal access to secondary schools. Currently, only one in five girls in Africa and two in five girls in South and West Asia, get the chance to go to secondary school.

2) Offer extra help for poor families to keep girls in school: On the one hand, stand-alone gender 'initiatives' have been ineffective, unless integrated with strategies to expand access for everyone and reduce the queue for education. On the other hand, generalised expansion of primary education alone will not specifically address the particular problems faced by girls. Positive action must be taken to level the playing field, so that girls - especially those who are poor, lower caste and live in

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remote rural areas - can benefit from educational expansion in equal or greater measure as boys. As enrolments continue to expand, more effort will be needed to meet the schooling needs of these hard-to-reach girls.

In particular, extra assistance, such as a free school meal, or stipends linked to regular attendance, helps poor families keep girls in school for longer. It is also an inexpensive and effective way to redistribute resources towards poor communities, since a relatively small upfront investment by governments enables poor girls to acquire a lifelong asset that allows them to escape the poverty trap. Stipends for secondary school girls have been particularly effective; they not only increase secondary enrolments, but also create strong incentives for girls to enter and complete primary level.

In Bangladesh, districts where secondary school bursaries were introduced experienced a sharp decrease in child marriages, as well as soaring girls' enrolments. Governments need to involve communities and civil society groups in developing incentive packages that are appropriate to local circumstances, and the costs of rolling out such programmes to all districts need to be factored into donor and government plans.

3) Launch a rescue plan for schools in poor communities: The problem today is not that parents do not want to send their daughters to school. The tragedy is that they would like to send them, but the absence of a proper functioning school and the poor quality of education, comes in the way of realising their aspirations. Parents withdraw girls from school if they perceive that their daughters are not learning anything; or worse, that they are vulnerable to abuse, attack and humiliation on school

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grounds. Yet many schools in poor, rural areas (and urban slums) lack even the basics needed to function. They frequently have far fewer resources, offer fewer hours of instruction, and attain far worse results, than schools in more affluent areas.

All schools need a trained, motivated teacher who turns up every day to teach, and enough books and desks to go around. Construction of safe and private toilet facilities for girls should be mandatory. Strong sanctions against the sexual abuse and harassment of girl pupils must be enacted and enforced. A first priority should be improving the status, pay and support of teachers, especiallv those teachers posted to rural or 'difficult' areas.

Long-standing quotas for gender parity among rural teachers should be backed up with efforts to extend and improve teacher training facilities in the rural as well as the urban areas, and additional incentives and career development opportunities for female teachers willing to take up posts in the rural areas. While learning outcomes are unacceptably low in many countries, it is essential that reforms are rooted in the local realities. Traditional chalk and talk teaching methods have been justifiably criticised, but the experience of the last 20 years shows that attempts to import learner-centred learning methodologies without taking local cultures into account have often been problematic.

4) *Encourage a range of education provision*: The scale and urgency of the action necessary to meet the 2005 goal makes it essential that NGOs are strongly supported in playing a complementary role in developing sustainable education provision. Sadly, not every country has an NGO of the size and vision of BRAC in Bangladesh, but

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much more can be done to expand and mainstream the provision by NGOs of basic education, especially to hard-to-reach groups. These schools need to develop clear 'pathways' and linkages with the formal system so that the nonformal sector does not become a 'ghetto' for girls and poor students.

Greater flexibility is needed so that eventual transfer to state schools is facilitated and encouraged. Some of the new, wide-ranging education sector development plans, currently being rolled out in many countries, do not pay enough attention to this key role of NGOs, nor have NGOs been sufficiently involved in the design and management of these sector plans.

5) *Engage with civil society*: Experience shows that a top-down approach to girls' education is not only ineffective, it may create resistance and resentment that will ultimately be counter-productive - a leading cause of 'implementation failure' in girls' education. Acting with urgency must not be confused with acting in haste, or used as an excuse for shutting out the participation of parents, teachers and gender experts in designing reforms. This is especially crucial because of the social and cultural complexity that surrounds girls' education: 'Behind the hype lies a cauldron of considerations that constitute today's discourse around girls' education: parental perceptions on the benefits of educating girls, changing social network support systems affecting girls' participation and persistence in school, and overcoming barriers to women's leadership.'

The participation of communities, teachers and women's groups in the policy-making process is crucial to developing appropriate, well-informed responses to local complexities, and generating the broad-based

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support needed to implement them successfully. However, as the UK government has recognised in creating the Commonwealth Education Fund, effective gender advocates do not simply appear from nowhere. Governments and donors must open the door to robust and regular exchange with civil society groups, instead of the usual one-off 'consultations'; they must also provide timely access to information and support civil society efforts to build advocacy skills.

6) *Break the glass ceiling*: Expanding primary school opportunities for girls is obviously a first priority for the countries furthest off track for achieving the 2005 goal. But given the very severe shortages of secondary school places in most developing countries, a sole focus on attaining UPE may have the unintended effect of turning the primary school leaving exam into a 'glass ceiling' that few girls are able to break through. To avoid creating a new education queue at secondary level, governments must plan to rapidly extend free and universal access to secondary schools.

Currently, only one in five girls in Africa, and two in five girls in South and West Asia, get the chance to go to secondary school. Given the unemployment crisis in most countries, school leavers stand little chance of finding a job in the 'formal sector', unless they have done well in their secondary school leaving examinations. Moreover, many of the health and productivity benefits of educating girls are not fully unlocked until secondary education is attained. This highlights the importance of balanced investment by donors and governments in increasing girls' access, completion and achievement at secondary level.

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In the large majority of countries, gender inequalities are most serious at universities and other higher education institutions. It is often forgotten that the gender parity goal includes equity at tertiary level by 2015. Expanding the output of female graduates from these institutions is essential in order to ensure that women can begin to occupy the full range of professional and management jobs, and in doing so, break down dominant patriarchal views about gender and employment. Increasing the numbers of educated and qualified women can act as a powerful and positive influence on girls. 'The presence of strong role models and positive images among the educated youth acts as a propelling force, encouraging the community to invest in the education of their children'.

7) *Counter the impact of HIV/AIDS*: The AIDS epidemic has very serious implications for the attainment of gender equality in basic education, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. The three main areas of impact are lower enrollment growth, increased teacher morbidity and mortality, and increased numbers of orphans and other children directly affected by the epidemic. Girls are likely to be particularly badly affected by the impact since they will be expected to look after sick parents and other family members, as well as take over some of their household activities.

Girl orphans are also thought to be more vulnerable than boys and are, therefore, very likely to drop out of school. Given that AIDS-related mortality is expected to be highest among young female adults, this has possible far reaching implications for female teachers and any attempt to increase the number of female teaching staff. It is essential, therefore, that in high HIV prevalence

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countries, comprehensive strategies are developed by Ministries of Education with their partners to both prevent and mitigate the impact of the epidemic on students and teachers, particularly females.

8) *Invest more in girls*: Countries that have achieved success in girls' schooling are ones that have dramatically increased their own spending on basic education to as much as 20 per cent of their budget, or 3 per cent of their GDP. Yet even at this high level of government commitment, low-income countries will still need substantial help - in the order of $5.6bn per year in external resources - in order to achieve the education MDGs. However, the total value of bilateral education aid in 2000 was 30 per cent lower in real terms than in 1999.

The Global Campaign for Education is calling for a new global financing framework for basic education, in order to channel increased aid to the countries that are most in need of additional resources and have good policies in place for meeting the 2005 and 2015 education goals. The Fast Track Initiative, endorsed last year by the G7 leaders, the World Bank, UNESCO and UNICEF, provides a starting point. The FTI could be enormously helpful in accelerating progress towards the 2005 and 2015 targets, by guaranteeing the long-term predictable financing that governments need in order to provide free and universal access, and to achieve minimum quality levels in all schools.

However, the FTI's impact on the 2005 goal will be limited unless it includes funding for subsidy programmes to get girls into school. Donors must also agree a timetable for expanding entry to more countries, including those with the most out-of-school girls and

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largest gender gaps. FTI financing estimates also need urgent revision to take the real costs of achieving gender equity into full consideration - including the removal of fees and charges, the introduction of nation-wide subsidy or incentive schemes for the poorest families, and positive steps to improve conditions for both teachers and students. We know what needs to be done to provide all girls with their right to a basic education, we know what it will cost. We also know what a high price there is to be paid for failure. We must now mobilise this ambition and all the available resources to implement and achieve what we know to be right.

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8

Education and Gender Gap

Three years ago, at the World Education Forum at Dakar, the international community re-affirmed its commitment to eliminating gender inequality in basic education provision throughout the world. Governments promised to:

— Ensure that by 2015 all children have access to, and complete, free education of good quality.

— Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to, and achievement in, basic good quality education.

At the UN's Millennium Summit, heads of state adopted these targets as two of the eight Millennium Development Goals for reducing world poverty. There is universal recognition of the paramount importance of ensuring that all children, both girls and boys, receive a basic education of at least eight years and of an acceptable quality.

The education of girls has been recognised for several decades as a fundamental human right and a

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developmental necessity. Nevertheless, large gender disparities in enrolment and learning achievements persist. Eradicating these disparities is well within the power and spending capacity of the world's governments. Failure to do so constitutes a massive denial of the basic human rights of tens of millions of girls in the developing world.

Despite individual success stories, very large inequalities still exist in the majority of developing countries, and the rate of progress needs to accelerate four-fold to achieve the gender equity goal. At this pace, the gender gap in primary education will not be closed until 2025, and Africa will not get all girls (and boys) into primary school for another 100 years. It is therefore essential that decisive action is taken by governments, civil society organisations and bilateral and multilateral agencies, to get girls into school.

Failure to educate girls is also holding back the wider push to halve global poverty by 2015. Education not only provides basic knowledge and skills to improve health and livelihoods, but it empowers women to take their rightful place in society and the development process. Education gives women the status and confidence to influence household decisions. Women who have been to school tend to marry later and have smaller families. Their children are also better nourished and are far more likely to do well at school. By contrast, the children of women who have never received an education are 50 per cent more likely to suffer from malnutrition or to die before the age of five.

Educating women is the key to breaking the cycle of poverty. Because education is so crucial to improving health and increasing incomes, the girls' education goal

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has a domino effect on all of the other Millennium Development Goals. Failure to achieve it will set us up for almost certain failure on the other MDGs. Eliminating gender gaps in rural and urban primary school intake is a minimum threshold that must be achieved by 2005. If this timeline is allowed to slip, it will become impossible to achieve universal primary education by 2015. And, as UNDP has warned, if we fail to achieve UPE by 2015, the already uncertain prospects of attaining the other MDGs will dwindle beyond the vanishing point.

In order to achieve the goal of universal completion of primary education by 2015, it is necessary for all eligible children, both girls and boys, to start primary school on time by 2009/10, and to complete the primary cycle five or six years later. A generalised expansion of primary education is necessary but not sufficient to meet these targets, since girls face gender-specific discrimination and disadvantage at every step along the way. Action must be taken now to remove these barriers. However, no country is so far behind on girls' enrolment that it could not at least eliminate gender gaps in rural and urban school intake by 2005. This would enable all countries to reach parity between girls and boys throughout the primary cycle by 2011, and to stay on track for universal primary education (UPE) by 2015.

The UPE goal also requires that the school completion rate is 100 per cent for all children by 2015, so concerted efforts must be made, starting now, to eliminate the gender gaps in rural and urban completion rates (and thus dropout rates) across all grades. Eliminating differences in learning achievements between girls and boys is also essential, and all countries should set clear targets for this. In order to meet the MDG

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education goals, rich countries would need to provide $5.6 bn per year. This may sound like a lot of money, but it's less than three days of global military spending, and about the same as what American parents spend on Barbie dolls for their daughters every year.

Aid needs to be specifically targeted at countries where gender inequalities are greatest and where enrolments are particularly low. With some 88 countries off track, the looming prospect of failure has caused some commentators to dismiss the 2005 gender equality target as unrealistic and over-ambitious. But the striking successes achieved by some of the world's poorest countries prove otherwise.

Most countries can point to a plethora of gender equity initiatives, too often these add up to a scatter-shot patchwork of 'girls' projects' rather than a comprehensive package of interventions backed by clear policy aims. A lack of country leadership, the competing and changeable priorities of aid donors, and reluctance to allocate more than token resources, all share part of the blame. But if the dismal progress rates in many countries have any lesson to teach, it is that even the best initiatives make little impact as stand-alone interventions.

Gender inequality in education, like gender inequality in the wider society, has multiple causes, which tend to keep reinforcing one another unless integrated efforts are made to tackle all of them. Contrary to conventional wisdom, parents' resistance is seldom the most important factor behind low female enrolments. Studies have shown that parents are quick to recognise the importance of education for girls in today's changing world. But their desire to send their daughters to school is often quashed by factors such as prohibitive costs of

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schooling, failure to protect girls from sexual harassment and abuse in or on the way to school, and failure to provide an adequate number of classrooms and school places within a distance that is socially acceptable for girls to travel on their own.

8.1. Improving Gender-disaggregated Educational Monitoring

Accurately assessing the extent of gender inequality in primary and secondary education in developing countries is clearly crucial. However, this is not an easy task because the quality and coverage of the available statistics is so poor in many countries. However, efforts by government to improve gender-disaggregated educational monitoring are a minimum indicator that political will exists to tackle educational inequalities. UNESCO is working with Ministries of Education to improve statistical capacity, but this will take time.

The most recent year for which comprehensive enrolment information is available is 2000. This is clearly unsatisfactory, especially because we know that substantial progress towards achieving the gender enrolment parity goals has been made in many countries during the last three years. The enormous gap between female and male literacy rates in much of Africa and South Asia is the most striking consequence of the gender inequalities in education. Figure 1 presents these literacy rates.

On a regional basis, gender inequality in both primary and secondary education is worst in South and West Asia, closely followed by Sub-Saharan Africa. Female enrolments in primary schools in both these

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regions were around 75-90 per cent of male enrolments in 1999/2000 (Figure 2).

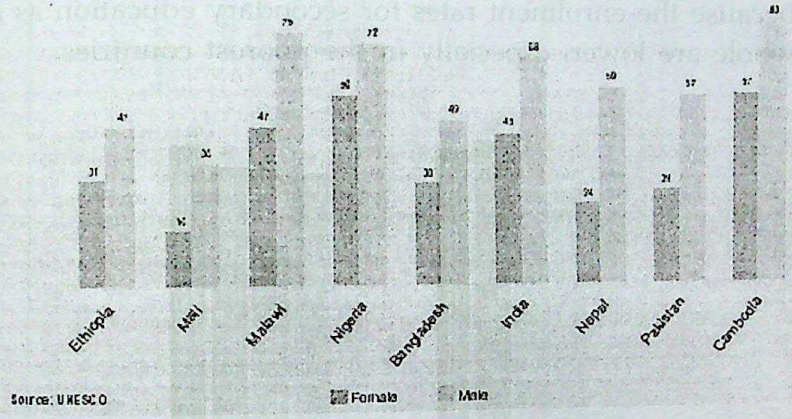

Figure 1. Adult literacy rates

East Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and the Caribbean have almost attained gender enrolment parity for both primary and secondary education. While access to early childhood care and education (ECCE) is very low in most developing countries, girls and boys seem to be just about equally disadvantaged at this level. Not surprisingly, however, these aggregate figures mask enormous variation in gender enrolment inequality among the countries in each of these very large and diverse regions.

Countries have been grouped in Table 1 according to the size of the percentage point gap between female and male gross enrolment ratios for primary schooling in 1999/2000.

Gender enrolment inequality as measured by the gender parity index is considerably worse for secondary education (Figure 2). The Middle East and North Africa region is an important exception. It is worse still at

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universities and other higher education institutions. However, the absolute GER gender gaps tend to be smaller at the secondary level than at the primary level because the enrolment rates for secondary education as a whole are lower, especially in the poorest countries.

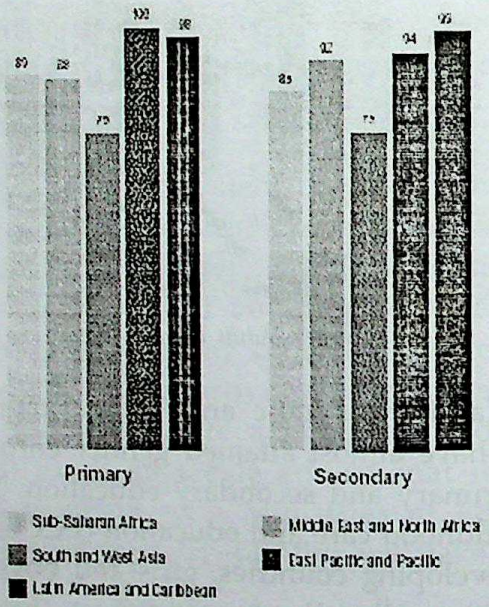

Figure 2. Gender parity index, 1990-2000

Table 2 shows that there were 13 countries where this gap was greater than 10 percentage points in 1999/2000. This includes India, Nepal and Pakistan. In contrast, relatively more females than males were attending secondary schools in Bangladesh. However, countries without data are the same group of French-speaking African countries that have the largest intake gender gaps (of over 10 percentage points) as well as Ethiopia (30 percentage points), India (23), and Yemen (25) (table 1).

Data from household surveys shows far more clearly than aggregate enrolments the devastating impact that

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Table 1: GER gender gaps for primary education 1999/00 (percentages)

	Girls>Boys			Boys>Girls		
		0 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 29	>30
South and West Asia		*Bangladesh* Sri Lanka		*India*	*Nepal*	*Pakistan Afghanistan* ?
Sub-Saharan Africa	Botswana Lesotho Malawi	DRC Gabon Kenya	Angola Gambia Ghana	Burkina Faso Burundi Cameroon	CAR Cote d'Ivoire Eq.Guinea	Benin Chad Guinea Bissau
	Mauritius Namibia Rwanda Tanzania	Madagascar South Africa Zimbabwe	Sierra Leone Sudan Swaziland Uganda Zambia	Comoros Eritrea Mali Niger Nigeria Senegal	Ethiopia Guinea Mozambique Togo	Liberia
Middle East and North Africa	Bahrain	Iran Jordan Kuwait Lebanon Mauritania Oman Saudi Arabia UAE	Algeria Egypt Tunisia	Djibouti Morocco	Iraq	Yemen

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East Asia and the Pacific	China	Indonesia	PNG	Cambodia
	South Korea	Malaysia	Vietnam	Lao
		Mynamar		
		Philippines		
Latin America and the Caribbean	Argentina	Bolivia	Brazil	Guatemala
	El Salvador	Chile		
	Nicaragua	Colombia		
		Costa Rica		
		Ecuador		
		Mexico		
		Panama		
		Paraguay		
		Peru		
		Venezuela		
		Uruguay		

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Table 2: GER gender gaps for secondary education 1999/00 (percentages)

	Girls>Boys			Boys>Girls		
Region	<10	5 to 10	0 to 5	0 to 5	5 to 10	>10
South and West Asia			Bangladesh			India
						Nepal
			Sri Lanka			Pakistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	South Africa	Botswana	Swaziland	Angola	Gabon	Benin
	Sudan	Lesotho		Burkina Faso	Gambia	Chad
		Namibia	Burundi	Ghana		Cote d'Ivoire
			Cameroon	Liberia	DRC	
			Comoros	Malawi	Eritrea	
			Ethiopia	Mali	Guinea	
			Kenya	Mozambique		Ginea Bissau
			Madagascar	Nigeria		
			Mauritius	Senegal		
			Niger	Zambia		
			Rwanda	Zimbabwe		
			Sierra	Leone		

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			Tanzania			
Middle East and North Africa	Qatar UAE	Lebanon	Algeria Bahrain Djibouti Jordan Kuwait Tunisia	Oman Syria	Egypt Iran Iran Mauritania Morocco Saudia Arabia	Iran
East Asia and the Pacific		Malaysia Philippines	Thailand	Indonesia Korea Mynamar	Cambodia China PNG Vietnam	Lao
Latin America and the Caribbean	n/a					

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the education gender gap has on individual lives. Educational attainment statistics from Demographic and Health Surveys in over 30 countries show that a very high proportion of young women living in rural areas have never been to school - nearly two-thirds in Ethiopia and 28 per cent in India as recently as 1999. There are nine countries where such a large gender gap exists with respect to urban non-attenders. Figure 3 shows the level of education attained by 15-19 year olds.

There are enormous rural-urban disparities in female and male GERs in most countries. In Mali, for example, the capital Bamako has a female primary school GER of 125 per cent compared with only 20 per cent in remote regions such as Kidal and Mopti. The full attainment profiles for four countries are presented in Figure 4. These show very strikingly the size of the attainment gaps not only between women and men, but also between the urban and rural areas. Primary school completion rates are also very low in many countries.

Barely one per cent of girls in their mid-late teens, who were living in rural Ethiopia in 2000, finished the full eight-year primary school cycle. The completion rate was only marginally better for rural boys (1.6 per cent). In India, fewer than half of rural females, but nearly two-thirds of rural boys, finished primary school in 1999. In contrast, in three countries in Sub- Saharan Africa (Malawi, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe), most of East Asia and the Pacific, Latin America, and the Caribbean (including Brazil), completion rates among rural females are higher than for males.

In a large majority of developing countries, only a very small percentage of children reach even the lower grades of secondary school. In two-thirds of countries in

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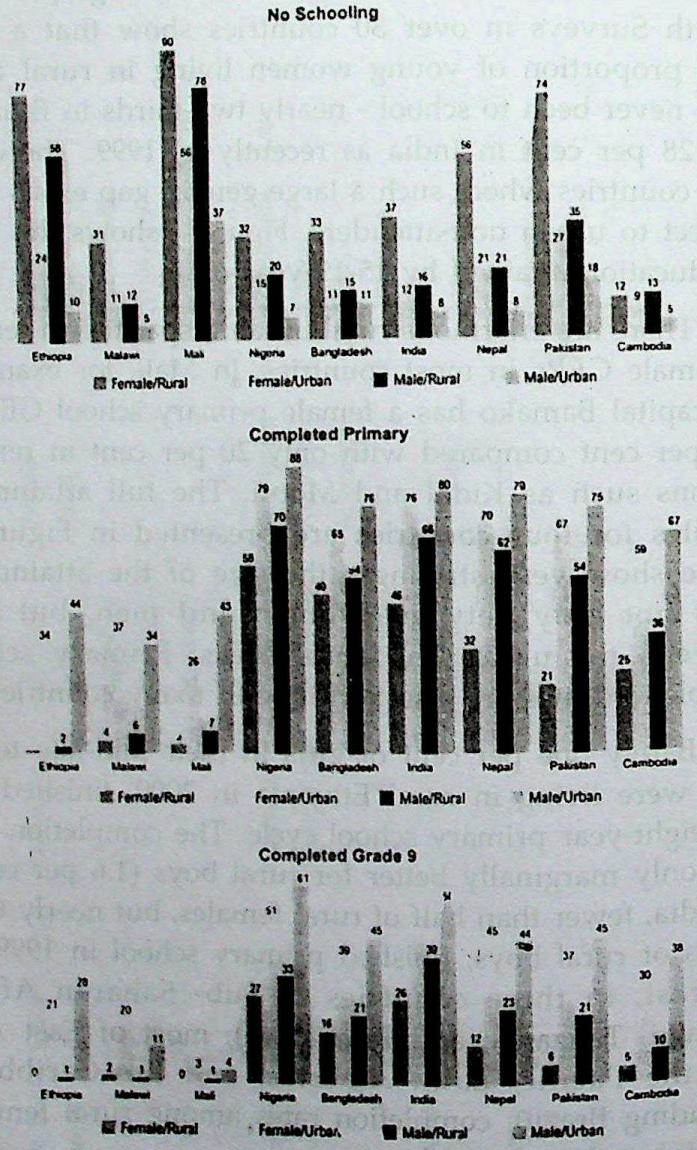

Figure 3: Education attainment among 15-19 year olds

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Sub-Saharan Africa, Grade 9 attainment rates for males are higher than they are for females. This differential is particularly large in urban Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, and Nigeria, as well as rural India and Pakistan.

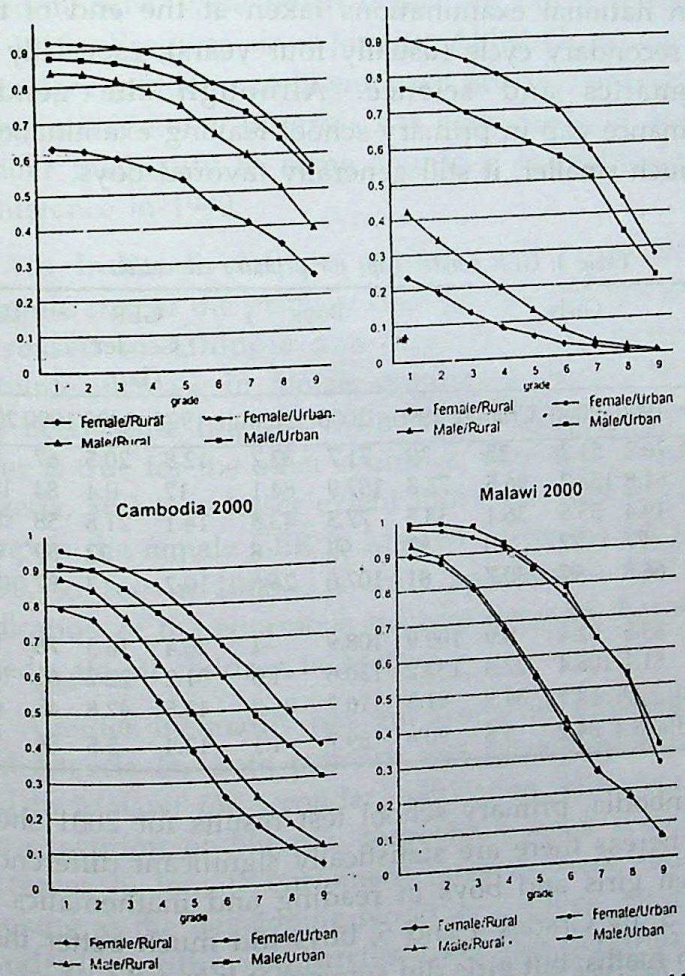

Figure 4: Education attainment by grade among 15-19 year olds in Cambodia, Ethiopia, India and Malawi in 1999/2000

In overall terms, among the 32 countries with survey data, nearly 40 per cent had acute, and another 12 per

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cent had moderate, gender attainment gaps. Gender differentials were in favour of females in one-quarter of these countries. In the past, the dominant international pattern was that boys generally did much better than girls in national examinations taken at the end of the lower secondary cycle (usually four years), especially in mathematics and science. Although the gender performance gap in primary school leaving examinations was much smaller, it still generally favored boys.

Table 3: GER gender gaps for primary education

	Girls			Boys			GER Gender Gap		GPI	
Country	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	1990	2000
Ethiopia	26.2	51.2	25	39	71.7	32.7	12.8	20.5	67	67
Malawi	61.8	158.3	96.5	73.8	157.9	84.1	12	0.4	84	100
Mali	19.4	55.5	36.1	33.5	77.3	43.8	14.1	21.8	58	72
Nigeria	77	77	0	87	95	8	10	22	89	81
Bangla-desh	66.3	97	30.7	81	107.6	26.6	10.2	3	87	97
India	83.5	92.4	8.9	109.9	108.9	–1	26.4	16.5	76	85
Nepal	81.1	108.4	27.3	132.2	130.6	–1.6	51.2	22.2	61	83
Pakistan	39	73.9	34.9	81.5	116.7	35.2	42.5	42.8	48	63
Cambodia	78.4	84.2	5.8	90.8	89.7	–1.1	12.4	5.5	86	94

In Cambodia, primary school test results for 2001 show that whereas there are statistically significant differences between girls and boys in reading and mathematics in Grade 3, by Grades 4 and 5, boys did much better than girls in maths, but girls did somewhat better than boys in reading. At the secondary level, pass rates were much higher for girls than boys in the Grade 12 national examination. In Nepal, on the other hand, there were no significant differences in pass rates for any of the annual examinations at both primary and secondary levels

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(Grades 1-10). The same is true for the primary and secondary national examinations in Bangladesh.

However, in Malawi, pass rates for the Malawi School Certificate Examination, which is taken at the end of Form Four, were much higher for males throughout the 1990s. Progress since Jomtien Although primary and secondary gender enrolment gaps are still unacceptably large, considerable progress has been made in reducing gender inequality in some countries since the Jomtien Conference in 1990.

In India, it only increased from 76 to 85. The absolute size of the primary GER gender gap has actually increased in Ethiopia and Nigeria. Nonetheless, the absolute increase in female enrolment rates in Ethiopia has been quite impressive in such a short period. The same is true for the other countries, with the exception of Nigeria, and to a lesser extent India and Cambodia. The jump in the female GER in Malawi - from 62 per cent in 1990, to 160 in 2000 - is truly spectacular and is an indication of the enormous pent-up demand that existed to educate all children in Malawi.

Gender inequality has got worse in Ethiopia, Mali and Nigeria for both primary and secondary education and in Malawi for secondary education. However, with the exception of Nigeria, there have been remarkable increases in female enrolment rates in these countries. Looking at the developing world as a whole, there are a handful of other countries like Malawi that have eliminated the primary GER gender gap (Rwanda, Tanzania, China, Korea, El Salvador and Venezuela), but there are many more countries where progress has been much less (table 4).

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At the regional level, the primary gender gap was halved in Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, and East Asia and the Pacific, but only by one-third in South and West Asia (Table 4). Again, most progress has been made in Bangladesh and Malawi.

Table 4: GER gender gaps for secondary education

	Girls			Boys			GER Gender Gap		GPI	
Country	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	1990	2000
Ethiopia	12.5	4.2	-8.3	15.9	6.2	-9.7	3.4	2	79	68
Malawi	4.9	40	35.1	10.6	50	39.4	5.7	10	46	80
Mali	4.6	10.3	5.7	9.3	19.7	10.4	4.7	9.4	49	52
Nigeria	21.2			28.5			7.3		74	
Bangla-desh	12.7	55.9	43.2	25.1	51.7	26.6	12.4	-4.2	51	108
India	32.9	40.2	7.3	55	58.9	3.9	22.1	18.7	60	68
Nepal	19.6	44.9	25.3	46	62.3	16.3	26.4	17.4	43	72
Pakistan	14.8	31.9	17.1	29.8	45.8	16	15	13.9	50	70
Cambodia	19.3	44.7	25.4	12.2	22.2	10	25.4	10	43	55

But, globally, only 13 countries out of a total of 80 for which data are available, managed to close the GER gender gap for secondary education (table 4). With respect to the main geographical regions, good progress was made in the Middle East and North Africa, and East Asia and the Pacific. However, this was not the case in Sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia.

Many of the health and empowerment benefits of education are not unlocked until girls have progressed to secondary level. But barely over half of the girls in developing countries get beyond primary school. In Sub-Saharan Africa, only one in five girls are enrolled in secondary school - a figure that has barely budged since 1990, and in some countries has changed little since

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independence. Girls' school attendance at age 12-13 is 80 per cent that of boys; but by age 18-19, only half as many girls as boys are attending school.

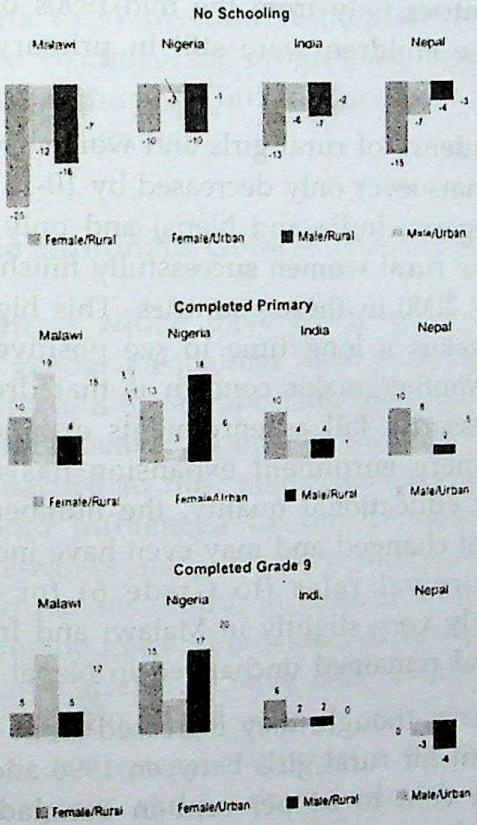

Figure 5: Change in educational attainment among 15-19 year olds

The picture is slightly better in South and West Asia - about two in five attend secondary school - but female secondary enrolment is still only two-thirds of the male rate. A study conducted in three countries (Mali, Pakistan and Nepal) shows that, the median completion rate among girls is less than one year of primary education. Worldwide, girls aged 15-19 continue to lag well behind

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boys in school attainment, and progress on this indicator has been far less impressive than the growth in girls' primary enrolments (Figure 5, Table 2). This is partly because the expansion in primary school intakes occurred in most countries only from the mid-1990s onwards, so most of these children were still in primary school in 2000.

The incidence of rural girls and women who had no schooling whatsoever only decreased by 10-15 percentage points in Nigeria, India and Nepal and only around 10 per cent more rural women successfully finished primary schooling by 2000 in these countries. This highlights the fact that it takes a long time to see positive results in education. Another major concern is that dropout rates do not necessarily fall as enrolments expand. In some countries where enrolment expansion has resulted in much lower educational quality, the numbers of drop-outs have not changed and may even have increased. For example, survival rates (to Grade 6) for rural girls increased only very slightly in Malawi and India during the 1990s and remained unchanged in Nepal.

In Nigeria, though, they increased from 53 per cent to 81 per cent for rural girls between 1990 and 1999, and from 58 per cent to 64 per cent in Bangladesh in just three years - from 1994 to 1997. Perhaps frightened by the looming prospect of failure to achieve the 2005 goal, some policymakers have attempted to shift the goalposts - redefining the target so that it only refers to numerical parity in primary school enrolments.

Getting girls onto the first rung of the education ladder will make little lasting impact on gender equity, if girls find themselves pushed off the ladder as soon as they try to progress to the next rung. Governments and

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donors must focus on increasing completion and attainment rates among girls as well as raising their learning achievements. Achieving gender parity in year one primary intakes is a useful starting point, but governments need to commit themselves to a clear timeline and roadmap for progressing from numerical parity to a genuinely fair chance for girls in all dimensions of education.

8.2. How to Eliminate Gender Inequalities?

Some countries which have made most progress in eliminating gender inequalities have four main things in common. First and most important, there has been strong political commitment to women in both development and education. Related to this, policy development has been informed and influenced by the demands of strong women's networks and other key stakeholders such as teachers and parents. Third, in tandem with overarching efforts to provide free and universal access for all groups, comprehensive strategies have been implemented that specifically tackle the key causes of gender inequality in education. Each strategy comprises a package of inter-related measures rather than isolated and ad hoc interventions. And finally, both governments and donors have been willing to allocate the resources necessary to sustain implementation.

Eliminating gender inequality in education will only work if it is part of a much broader nationwide mobilisation that has ambitious goals to ensure that women fully and equally participate in all aspects of economic, social and political development. This creates the essential enabling environment for Ministries of Education and education NGOs to work together to

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achieve gender equality in education. Effective 'gender and development' strategies require strong affirmative action, including active labour market policies that promote skills and tackle pervasive discriminatory practices in the workplace.

Other key actions concern reform of patriarchal inheritance laws, tackling violence against women (including rape), encouraging greater political involvement of women at both national and local levels, and raising the legal age of marriage. Supporting the economic empowerment of women through small and micro enterprise development, especially through the provision of credit, is also critically important. In other words, a 'package deal' is required that covers all aspects of gender inequality and not just with regards to education. The rise of the 'women in development' movement has played a major role in putting gender at or near the top of the development agenda.

The Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995 identified strategies to improve the social, political and cultural position of women. However, there is still a large gap between policy and action in many countries. Closing this gap is first and foremost a political, rather than a technical, challenge. Until gender equity becomes a visible and popular cause, governments and elites are likely to continue neglecting it. And this is why the role of national civil society is indispensable. Signing up to international agreements such as Jomtien and Dakar is of course important, but it is how governments, working with civil society, translate these well-intentioned goals into action that is most critical.

Not surprisingly, it is those governments that have been strongly committed to both gender equality and

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Education for All that have made the most progress towards the attainment of the MDG gender and education targets. Indigenous struggles for democratisation have been very important in empowering women and ensuring that gender is increasingly mainstreamed in all key areas of policy.

To achieve gender parity, it is essential that education sector plans respond to poor people's needs, and include a comprehensive attack on all forms of educational inequality - recognising that girls typically face more than one source of disadvantage (gender, class, caste, ethnicity, physical ability etc.). It is also important to develop locally-appropriate strategies to overcome the multiple economic, cultural and social barriers that keep girls away from schools. In practice, this has happened in relatively few countries. Most EFA programmes have focused on easing general access constraints but without planning specific steps to ensure that girls benefit equally from the new opportunities created (falsely assuming that gender inequalities would be automatically redressed by the expansion of free primary education). Or, they have focused on separate 'girls' programmes' without doing anything to address the overwhelming access constraints - such as high costs and shortages of schools and teachers - that place all disadvantaged groups, especially poor, rural girls, at a permanent disadvantage.

In countries such as Cambodia, the educational reform strategy did not focus on gender 'due to the many competing education needs'. Instead, generalised interventions have been based on the assumption that supply-side constraints are the most critical, when, in fact, demand factors tend to be more important for girls. Another problem is that politicians have found it easy to dismiss gender as a foreign concept, partly because

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women's groups, NGOs and other civil society members who could act as champions for girls' education, have been left 'out of the loop' in policy dialogue between governments and donors.

Similarly, in Pakistan and Nigeria it has been a long uphill struggle to get politicians and policymakers to mainstream gender in major donor-supported education projects. A key factor behind recent progress has been the co-option of gender advocates from the NGO sector into influential policy-making positions in government, bringing with them not only their own commitment but also their capacity to reach out to, and mobilise, wider civil society networks. Clearly there is no blueprint because these constraints vary so much from one country to another. However, a balanced package addressing all aspects of gender inequalities in education is essential. Examples from India and Malawi offer some possibilities.

Governments and NGOs have adopted a range of policies, programmes and projects in order to improve girls' education. Comparative analysis suggests that within an integrated and comprehensive strategy, the following interventions have been especially effective: free primary education, increased incentives, more accessible schools, tackling sexual harassment and discrimination against pregnant pupils, developing a network of community schools, introducing bridging programmes to mainstream non-formal education, and promoting early childhood education and care.

8.2.1. Free Primary Education

The whole or partial abolition of primary school fees has been a central plank of recent UPE strategies in many countries including Kenya, Tanzania, The Gambia

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Malawi, Ethiopia, Uganda, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, and Nepal. Removing these fees has signalled government commitment to education as a right, and has helped to release enormous pent-up demand for education, causing massive increases in both girls' and boys' enrolments. In Malawi, for example, the number of primary school pupils jumped up by 50 per cent, from 1.9 million to 3.0 million, in just one year.

In Bangladesh, total enrolment in primary and basic education rose from nearly 12 million in 1990, to 18 million in 2001. The very success of free primary education has in turn created new financial and administrative challenges. Ministries face urgent needs to train and employ more teachers and to supply more classrooms and learning materials at primary level, in order to bring class sizes back down to reasonable levels. In Malawi, for example, classes of 150 pupils are now commonplace. In government primary schools in Bangladesh, this figure can reach 200. At the same time, they must also respond to unprecedented demand for secondary school places, which remain in woefully short supply in most African and South Asian countries.

If the secondary bottleneck is not quickly addressed, there is a real risk of recreating inequalities at the next rung up the ladder, and perhaps ultimately undermining demand for primary education. Finally, the 'hidden costs' of sending children to school remain as high as ever in most countries, and efforts to regulate or abolish the array of 'unofficial' charges levied by school committees and headteachers, have met with mixed results. In Tanzania, a new block grant to schools was introduced in 2002 to reduce the risk that schools would impose additional charges to make up for lost income from

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official fees. There have been difficulties, however, in ensuring that these grants actually reach the schools.

However, since uniforms and textbooks remain the largest costs, after tuition fees that families face in most countries, central governments do have the relatively simple option of providing a supply of free or subsidised textbooks, and/or relaxing uniform requirements. Such steps could go far to bring down the remaining costs of education, while incentives such as free school meals can indirectly compensate. Where rapid expansion of primary education has taken place in a severely resource-constrained environment, it has also exacerbated other problems including over-aged pupils and grade repetition. This has been a particular problem in Malawi and Cambodia, especially in rural areas.

The presence of older children makes it difficult to respond to the ageappropriate educational needs of both the younger and older children. Despite growing recognition of the need to reduce repetition rates by moving towards automatic progression, many governments have done very little in this area. All of these challenges reinforce the need for donors to deliver a better coordinated and more generous response when governments take the fundamental step of abolishing fees. Otherwise, it is very difficult to see how the education MDGs can be attained.

8.2.2. Parental Incentives

Incentive schemes have been introduced in many countries to reduce the overall costs of primary and secondary schooling for girls. Incentives are both monetary and in kind.

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Primary school stipends: Small stipends have been offered to needy girls in many countries to support their primary schooling. In Nepal, for example, nearly 40,000 needy girls have received small scholarships (Rupees 250 per annum) in order to support their primary schooling. The impact of this programme has been significant in terms of increasing intakes, retention, and reducing dropout rates, of girls.

Improved nutrition: Feeding programmes are also increasingly common. One of the main problems facing the drought-stricken countries of Sub-Saharan Africa has been children not attending school due to hunger. Even if they do attend, they have limited concentration. In Malawi, the World Food Programme introduced a pilot feeding programme for primary school children in 2000. Initially, only the 'most needy' children were targeted, but due to the overwhelming levels of poverty, it was decided to provide free meals for all children. This illustrates the difficulty of targeting by 'need' or 'gender' in a situation of general deprivation.

School feeding programmes (at pre-school and primary schools) in Central and Southern Africa have also become an important means of helping of supporting children affected by HIV/AIDS. The provision of free school meals has a major impact on school attendance. In India books, uniforms, a mid-day meal and wheat rations are provided free to school children attending government primary schools. The gender equity drive of the Bangladesh Government has included a Foodfor- Education programme for primary school children from poor families.

In return for food, parents have to guarantee 75 per cent attendance of their supported children in school and

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a minimum of 40 per cent marks in the end of year examinations. In mid-2002, this scheme was converted into a cash grant. Both boys and girls benefit. The impact of the programme on schooling attendance has been very positive.

In Nepal, the government has piloted a 'food rations' scheme in order to help reduce the drop-out of girls in primary schools. Three litres of cooking oil are provided each month as a take home ration to mothers of girls in Grades 2-5. It is too early to assess the scheme, but some parents are reported to have sold their rations.

Secondary school scholarships: A major challenge facing countries that have achieved UPE is to deal with the bottleneck created by the increased numbers of those completing primary school. In most countries, only children from better off families are able to afford secondary school and, without financial incentives for poorer children, this will continue to be the case. Although girls' enrolments at primary have improved, they are often less likely to complete primary school and move on to secondary than boys. The same applies to the transition from secondary to tertiary education.

An equally ambitious scholarship scheme has been successfully implemented in Malawi as part of the GABLE Programme. As elsewhere, one of the main motivations for parents wanting to keep their children at primary school is that they have a good chance of getting into secondary school. During the first phase of the Secondary Schools Girls' Scholarship Scheme, only 'needy' girls were selected, but it was extended to all girls in 1998. This caused something of a backlash among the parents of boys who felt that they were being discriminated against.

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A girls' scholarship programme for lower secondary schooling has also been recently piloted and implemented in four districts in Cambodia. As part of a package of support services, girls who live more than 15km from school are offered room and board with local female teachers. Not only are these arrangements more conducive to healthy social development, but they also provide a positive female role model for girls. In keeping with government policy to promote pro-poor interventions that increase educational access, programme beneficiaries are selected primarily on the basis of their socioeconomic status.

Numerous other smaller scale female scholarship programmes for secondary schools have been sponsored both by government and NGOs. For example, the Ministry of Education in Nepal provided nearly 12,000 scholarships for girls attending secondary school in 1999/ 2000. The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) runs a small scholarship programme for secondary school girls in Grades 9 and 10 in Ethiopia. Girls are selected on the basis of need and some of the recipients are also disabled.

Beyond making education free, there is a very strong rationale for offering additional stipends or subsidies as an incentive for poor families to keep girls in school. However, such programmes need to be carefully designed to fit local circumstances. There is no onesize-fits-all model of a successful incentive programme, but there are many lessons that can be learned from country experiences. Some of the most important are as follows:

— Clearly identify the target population.

— Communities must establish their own transparent selection procedures.

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— High levels of parental and community involvement at all stages of the programme are essential.

— It is important to adopt strategies that minimise administrative costs, which can be high.

— If the goal of education policy is to increase the number of girls progressing to secondary school, offering stipends at primary school (to cover fees or extra costs such as uniforms, books, etc.), can make a significant difference to the number of female enrolments.

8.2.3. Safety and Dignity at School

While societal and family issues are important, the presence of a vibrant and happy school in the neighbourhood can dramatically change the way communities view education for their children. The low quality of basic education has been recognised as a fundamental constraint in expanding girls' education in virtually every country. From a gender point of view, quality means creating a functioning and positive school environment in which girls can learn.

Given the enormity of the task and the difficulty of making an impact, we recommend that governments start with the basics: stamping out the sexual intimidation and harassment of girl pupils, and providing basic facilities for their safety and dignity. Unless and until these prerequisites are in place, more ambitious targets for improving quality are unlikely to be achieved. Governments that are serious about getting girls into school must prioritise the provision of toilets and running water above other infrastructure improvements.

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Although facilities in mosque schools in Pakistan are generally much worse than those of most government schools, they attract girls in equal or greater numbers to 'better' government schools - an outcome that puzzled researchers until they discovered that mosque schools are not only cheaper, but almost always have running water and sanitary facilities. Dealing with sexual harassment and intimidation of girl pupils is an uphill struggle in most countries because it means challenging deeply-entrenched male attitudes towards female sexuality; but, by the same token, it is very difficult to see how schools can ever become 'girl-friendly' as long as such attitudes and practices are allowed to persist.

Linked to the problem of sexual harassment, in many countries girls who get pregnant, often as a result of unwanted encounters with teachers or male pupils, are penalised by being forced to drop out of school. Pregnant girls are reportedly expelled from school in Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda and Zambia, while the rules have been changed in Bolivia, Botswana, Chile, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Kenya, and Malawi.

However, even where laws and regulations have been enacted to guarantee young mothers a right to continue their education, it is equally important that school management provides a sympathetic and constructive environment in which girls can return after giving birth. Botswana has found it necessary to deal with many obstacles in order to encourage girls to return, including relaxing age limits and procedures for re-admission.

8.2.4. *Community Schools*

The emergence of various kinds of community school has

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had a major impact in redressing gender inequalities in education in a growing number of countries. Community schools have been developed in different shapes and forms mainly in South Asia and Africa over the past two decades. They differ from government schools in that they are mainly funded by contributions and fees and are managed by the local community. They also tend to be located in the more remote areas where populations have had little connection with 'modern' schooling.

The spread of the village or community school owes much to the work of the Bangladesh Rural Action Committee (BRAC). The success of the BRAC model has spawned the development of similar community schools in a growing number of countries elsewhere in Asia and also Africa. For example, UNICEF has supported the development of community schools in Uganda, Guinea, Zambia and Egypt. The government provides classrooms and pays the salaries of teachers, while UNICEF trains the facilitators. Schooling is free and children are not required to wear uniforms. The project has had high levels of school attendance and low dropouts, while student performance is generally better than in government primary schools.

Evaluations show that, despite often very different country contexts, learning outcomes of community schools are frequently better, and certainly no worse, than in government schools. Furthermore, relationships between teachers, students and communities appear to be good, and these schools provide opportunities for basic education for children, who might otherwise, not have had any. However, a number of common problems have also been identified.

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- They tend to be introduced in poor areas with low access to schooling, lacking transport and communication.
- The community is compelled to provide significant support in building and managing schools and in paying the teachers. This can be onerous.
- The teachers/instructors are either less qualified, or paid less, than teachers in government schools.
- Sponsors of community schools have attempted to use age, and geography, as criteria to restrict access to the schools (so as to keep class sizes down), whereas the communities often want a more inclusive approach.

A number of other 'alternative' schools that cater for children in remote and marginal areas also have many of the same characteristics of community schools. For example, ActionAid has sponsored schools in Ethiopia that have sought to confront the thorny issue of distance.

In India, as in several Francophone African countries, the present expansion of government schools is being made possible by the employment of 'para-teachers' who are from the local communities, but who are paid less, enjoy few benefits or career development opportunities, and have less training and lower qualifications than teachers in government schools. This presents a dilemma for government policy because the use of such teachers does enable schools to function, but at the risk of developing a 'second tier' of education. Systematic evaluation is needed to ascertain the impact of these schemes on quality and equity.

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8.2.5. Community Awareness

A lot has been done to raise community awareness of the importance of educating girls. Participatory methods are now commonplace and used by NGOs and governments alike to promote greater grassroots participation in education. UNICEF also has two major awareness-raising programmes. The Meena Initiative in Bangladesh uses a multimedia approach to raise the profile of girls as well as stressing the importance of education. The Sara initiative in East, Central and Southern Africa was modelled on 'Meena'. Materials produced are used in both formal and non-formal settings. Both programmes have been supported by a number of bilateral donors. Although Meena is considered to be a success in the South Asian context, adapting the same set of materials from one cultural environment to another has been problematic.

8.2.6. Bridging/Accelerated Programmes

The main aim of bridging/accelerated programmes has been to get children back into school. They share some of the characteristics of community schools, but tend to be more remedial in their approach. South Asia has a large number of such bridging courses, which are essential given that so many individuals 'drop through' the education net. Although these courses and projects are remedial, they make a huge difference to women's and girl's lives in particular. The idea of attaching bridging courses to a government school would seem sensible and likely to reinforce the importance of the mainstream. However, such schemes should not be accepted as permanent solutions. The aim should be to get the education system functioning properly, so that the need

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for such programmes is gradually reduced and eventually eliminated.

8.2.7. Gender Advocates

Contrary to the common belief that it was donors who pushed girls' education to the fore in Malawi, 'evidence indicates that it was local women's groups who lobbied for special attention to be given to female education'. In particular, the organised political power of the League of Malawi Women greatly enhanced the influence of gender advocates within the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Community Services. Additionally, the first woman Minister of Education, appointed in 1993, 'played a central role in steering through the pregnancy and school uniform reforms... she was ideally placed as a gender advocate to introduce what were culturally-sensitive and controversial measures, such as those dealing with schoolgirl pregnancy'.

According to Jahan, the Government's commitment to girls' education was galvanised in the mid-1990s by a substantially strengthened women's movement which effectively 'articulated women's demand for equal access to, and control over, all social resources and services'. Their leverage was increased by the actions of international bodies, resulting in commitments to women's education and gender equity that were signed by the Government.

A recent assessment of three Sector Wide Approaches (SWAPs) to donor aid for education, suggests that their success in promoting gender equity goals could be greatly increased if donors made more active efforts to reach out to, consult and support, indigenous gender networks. Donors should work on the

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assumption that gender equality is an inseparable part of the sustainable development agenda, which already has the support of many key play :rs in education in the partner country; and ensure that support to champions of reform' extends to these 'gender champions.

8.2.8. Early Childhood Education and Care

Pre-school children benefit greatly from attending early childhood development and care centres (ECDC) in terms of improved socialisation and improved learning; and such facilities also free up older girls to attend class instead of looking after younger siblings. Community-based pre-schools have been established on a pilot basis in Cambodia, in order to promote girls' enrolment in Grade 1, with excellent results.

In India, ECDC centres attached to primary schools have increased the attendance and enrolment of girls, who can bring their younger siblings to the centre rather than having to stay at home to look after them. However, cost considerations have prevented most countries from significantly expanding this type of educational provision. In India, less than 20 per cent of primary schools have ECDC facilities.

A study on early learning childhood development programmes in Kenya concluded that 'in addition to increasing the future productivity of children, low cost ECDC programmes would be likely to produce the twin effects of releasing the mothers' time for market work and allowing older girl siblings to participate in school. ECDC programmes may be seen as optimal investments that affect both the current and future welfare of households with small children'.

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9

Information as a Transformative Tool

Acquiring knowledge is the first step toward change, whether this change be technological, social, economic, cultural, legal, or political. Information is the catalyst, fuel, and product of this process of transformation. Inevitably, information systems — both formal and informal — play a central role in our lives. The flow of information and the associated information and communication technologies (ICTs) constitute a fundamental component of science and technology (S&T). Advances in ICTs are having an increasingly profound effect on the landscape of human activity.

There is every reason to expect this current trend to continue, but not everyone has shared equally in the benefits. Despite the potential ability of information to modify attitudes and behaviour and empower disadvantaged groups and despite the massive investments in information and communication technologies in the North, there are still two major gaps. First, most of the positive outcomes of the "information revolution" have bypassed women; the information society has remained largely silent on gender issues.

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Second, little readily available research has specifically addressed the circumstances of women and information in developing countries.

In considering the link between gender and S&T in developing countries, it is important to remember that "technology" includes not only physical innovations but also social and cultural artifacts that result from historic experiences. In addition, the significant role already played by women in many areas of scientific activity (for example, agriculture and health) has been underestimated.

In the following sections, we can see several research issues of practical and strategic concern to women as providers and users of information. As providers, their contribution ranges from sharing traditional practices within the community through to formal membership in the information and communication professions. As users, regardless of their location, they have needs that could be met through access to information, the most abundant reusable resource in the world. However, these two roles are not being played to their fullest potential.

Is due recognition given to the value of indigenous knowledge? Do women enjoy equal professional opportunities in the information sector? Do women have ready access to the information they need? Are they being well-served by the mass media? Are they ready to take full advantage of the new technologies? Evidence suggests that the answer to all these questions is "no." The assumptions governing information interactions are increasingly suspect. A new orientation is required so that women around the world can become full and equal members of the information society.

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Inevitably, when attempting to define the scope of such a cross-cutting field as information and communication, some aspects will overlap other disciplines. This is particularly the case in matters of employment, education, and training. Consequently, we emphasize the issues of access, use, and control of information and of ICTs. Even with this qualification, the scope of coverage is potentially immense, encompassing development communication, alternative media, broadcasting, village information centres, libraries, computer-based networking, the Internet, as well as their combinations and interactions.

Policies and action in the information and communication domain must address a basic set of interrelated topics: user needs, content, format, access, system control, utilization, and impact. Each must be explored in a participatory way involving the various stakeholders in the information system. Specific research issues and their policy implications can be grouped into two basic categories:

The information environment — the message: What information is needed? Does everyone have access to it? Are gender differences accommodated? and

Enabling technologies — the medium: Are electronic networks, microcomputers, multimedia systems, and television available? Are they adaptable and easy to use? What is their effect? Are employment, education and training, technology policymaking processes, and so forth open to women?

9.1. Needs and Requirements of Information

To determine what constitutes information, or more

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precisely valid information, one must closely examine "the rules of right" as defined by the power relations within a society. What is considered valid information in a particular society is often "produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses".

The content and format of information made available to women is usually determined without their advice or consent. In low-income countries, for example, women are caught in a web of political and economic dependency on the men in their lives: their father when they are children, their husbands when they are married, and their brothers if they are widowed. Relative to men, they have little power at the local, national, and international levels of society, and let others decide what is important for them to know, particularly when it comes to S&T. In developing and industrial counties alike, the male voice has assumed dominance for some time and women do not usually have choices about what information they need. Is the information that women are receiving appropriate? Often, it is irrelevant to their needs and aspirations.

Women and men have different information requirements based on their life experiences. These differences are often reflected in language. Men and women may speak in different languages that they assume are the same, using similar words to encode disparate experiences of self and social relationships. Because these languages share an overlapping moral vocabulary, they contain a propensity for systematic mistranslation, creating misunderstandings which impede communication and limit the potential for cooperation and care in relationships.

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Women's information needs can only be understood and adequately met if women are actively involved in the identification and definition of those needs and in the selection of mechanisms that are best suited to deliver such information. Only when women receive information relevant to their needs are they equipped to carry out activities that will benefit them, their families, and their communities. Women must acquire a voice, and they also must be heard.

Access to information is empowering. It allows people to monitor policy, lobby, learn, collaborate, campaign, and react to draft legislation. It is also one of the most powerful mechanisms through which social and economic progress can be achieved. Democratization of society and elimination of poverty can only occur if men and women have equal access to the services and resources they need to perform their productive tasks. Democracy means being aware of choices and making decisions; the extent to which this is possible depends, in large measure, on how much information is available to the people and how accessible it is.

To date, a combination of factors has prevented women from gaining equitable access to the information they need and, thus, has limited their ability to participate more actively in the transformation of society. As in the determination of information requirements, language can also be a constraint to women's access to information. The whole focus of women's alternative communication efforts is viewing life from women's perspective. Until this perspective has been given equal time and opportunity for expression, language cannot be assumed to be objective. The desire to be heard, to speak in their own words, will also affect what women want to hear or learn.

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Relevant technologies have a great potential to transform the lives of women in a positive manner. Yet women, particularly those in rural areas, have relatively little access to information about these technologies. They have fewer channels than men to information; even when they have equal access, many are illiterate and cannot benefit from printed material. It is possible to communicate with these women, however, as information on family planning, health, and nutrition has reached a considerable number of women in rural areas.

The information formats and delivery mechanisms most appropriate for women depend on the local context. The active participation of women in the design and implementation of dissemination efforts is critical for the success of the overall communication process. The relation between women and the media has been the subject of much study, yet this channel has been underused as a means for disseminating relevant S&T information. Again, it is essential that the socioeconomic position of the women being addressed be taken into account when determining the most effective media to use.

In most low-income countries, the information disseminated through the media has enormous reach and power. Mass media include radio, television, and newspapers. Radio transmission tends to have the greatest effect because radios are affordable and the message is clear even to those who may be illiterate. Moreover, this medium involves low production and transmission costs and it can reach relatively remote areas. It can be used as a tool for providing informal edu ation, distance education, and information about technical innovations and other development-related ities.

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The effect of television is somewhat limited at present, as it is less affordable and its geographic coverage is less extensive than radio, and its transmission is concentrated in urban areas. Use of television also involves access to electricity, which for many is impossible. However, the reach of this medium is expanding, and it can have an exceptionally powerful influence on its audience. Its use in developing countries is growing rapidly and has great scope for timely research and action. Film and video, too, can be positive media but are used less often than others. Video is a valuable medium for women to record their positive experiences and share their development concerns with other women. Sound–slide packages are less expensive and are still more suitable in some developing-country contexts. As a teaching tool, they are relatively low in cost and easily adaptable to specific situations.

For women who are literate, the greatest effect is achieved by print media, particularly reports that are focused on women's issues. A wealth of magazines, newsletters, pamphlets, and other materials is available, much of it in local languages and contexts. Some concern has been expressed over the tendency of mainstream media and communication formats to dominate, ignore, stereotype, or misrepresent women and their concerns. Much of this has to do with the nature of mainstream media — who controls it, defines it, and sets its goals. The major media have the power, through newsprint, radio, and television, to transform people's opinions overnight. They also have the power to legitimize the small, the insignificant, and the most noteworthy.

In many developing countries, "alternative media" represent the most effective way to reach women. They include street plays, puppet shows, dance, and music

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programs. The real difference between the two forms — mainstream and alternative — lies more in treatment, style, and content of the message than in the distinctive format of the medium.

9.2. Women and Technology

In the "cultured construction of genderedness, women are largely absent from the realm of what counts as technology", that is, what women do is usually defined as something other than technology. Furthermore, although women are active agents of development, their knowledge is often ignored or diminished because their role in production does not fit neatly into existing economic models. Along with the invisibility of women's knowledge is the assumption that women are essentially users as opposed to producers of information. As a result, technological development is often approached without the input of women, even though they may be involved with its use or may be affected by it. When it comes to women and technological development, the term "appropriate technology" is a familiar slogan but technology is often inappropriate when gender concerns are recognized and taken into account. "Who decides what technology is appropriate and whose interest does it serve?"

Women need information about new technologies, but they also require an increased capacity to share the information they already possess. To ensure this, one must examine the cultural rubric of a particular society that defines S&T, particularly if one is to achieve effective strategies for meaningful change. Values attached to technological practices are often seen as masculine.

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One issue of current concern that is very relevant to the issue of women's knowledge is "indigenous knowledge." Foucault refers to the "insurrection of subjugated knowledges." This involves historic knowledge that has been buried, disguised, disqualified as inadequate, or insufficiently elaborated, that is, naive knowledge, located low in the hierarchy of knowledge beneath the required cognitive or scientific level. Current debate recognizes the value of what has been described as local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledge, now popularly called indigenous knowledge. In most societies, the holders of this knowledge are mainly women.

9.2.1. Education and Sensitization

Identifying appropriate information and ensuring access to it have enormous implications in terms of education in the area of information and gender. The most immediate need is for education and sensitization of women and men about the current norms and constraints that militate against women's equal partnership in society. Strategies for providing such training must be developed at all levels of society. In addition, educating women in information management, technologies, and policy development would promote their understanding of the issues involved in these areas and permit the capture, organization, and sharing of information by and for women. Women should also be encouraged to pursue education and professional careers in broadcasting, journalism, communications, and similar fields.

How can women be assured of an effective and equitable role in the area of information and communications? Women must define what information

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they need and identify appropriate delivery mechanisms. Women simply need the same resources and support that men have received, but in ways that complement their lives. At the same time, more is involved than simply gaining technological equity; once women have acquired a voice, they must also ensure that they are being heard. As part of this, men must raise their awareness and comprehension. There is a need to examine how information about women is disseminated to men. Often, men in positions of influence and with decision-making power know very little about the women who will be affected by their policies. If women are truly to establish equity in the area of information and communications, dissemination efforts about women and by women must be delivered to men as well.

Several recommendations of The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women addressed information and related technologies. The search for innovative ways to strengthen the role of women as both participants and beneficiaries of development is still being pursued. New ICTs have great potential to support such a goal. Although women's involvement with these technologies has increased over the last 10 years and their use for communication and information sharing has expanded, much is left to be done.

In general, the percentage of women involved in information technologies, in terms of both employment and education, is low. This situation is apparent in both the North and South. At a global level, women's employment in telecommunications, or information technologies more generally, is almost invisible. In addition, the proportion of women employed in

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telecommunications tends to decrease at higher levels of the hierarchy.

Of significant concern is computerized automation, which is leading to unemployment of women. Labour-intensive assembly tasks traditionally performed by women, particularly in low-income countries, are being automated; the use of new software and training skills are being taught primarily to men; and, in second-generation newly industrialized countries, computer-based programming jobs are dominated by men and women's access to these jobs is limited. Of equal concern is the devaluing of clerical work. Computer and technological skills tend to be gender-labelled. Women tend to use computers only in low-paying categories of employment; positions requiring highly skilled use of computers and other technology are most often held by men. While women are moving down in the employment hierarchy, men seem to be moving up in this field.

Research on gender and ICT in the public realm confirms that women tend to use computers in low-paying, less-prestigious jobs, and the technology tends not to address women's practices. Because information technology has such great influence, women's relative exclusion could contribute to their further marginalization. In addition, ICT is creating new types of low-paying jobs for women (for example, electronics assembly or telephone answering services) that will intensify the traditional gender-based division of labour.

Microelectronic or computer-based technologies are being introduced around the world into environments where gender equity has not been attained or even encouraged. Technological practices, including the new information technologies, are often perceived as

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masculine, and women have been discouraged from their use. Studies have documented women's low use of computers, for example, among girls in mathematics and science classes and in university computer labs. Computer training seldom focuses on topics and approaches of direct concern to women. However, there is some cause for optimism.

In 1984, a survey conducted on the first day of an introductory computer class designed for business students revealed a gender-based attitudinal gap; women expressed significantly more apprehension than men about learning to use computers. However, in 1993, there were no statistically significant differences in the responses of men and women; indeed, men were beginning to report more concern than women. Although this study was undertaken in the North, it tends to challenge certain assumptions about the attitudes of women to ICT. Evidently, the constraints and barriers are not insurmountable.

9.2.2. New ICTs

To date, women have been far less involved than men with new ICTs. However, the question of their control, access, and rights to these new technologies cannot be answered through an assessment of the extent to which they use them. Many interrelated factors must be considered. Many of the obstacles arise from long-standing expectations about stereotyped gender roles and behaviours. There is some evidence that women's control, access, and rights to new information technology are gradually increasing.

The "gender identity" of a technology can be modified by the modes of interaction users develop for

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example, the telephone was originally intended as a business instrument, but has been substantially transformed into a means of communication by isolated women. Computerized telecommunications share this empowering potential for "adapter reinvention" to aid women's networking. However, even for women who have moved through the process of adapter reinvention, a number of more concrete factors determine access to and control of new ICTs.

Consideration must be given to whether a network is public or based on subscriber fees, whether there are public terminals and instructional sessions, and whether a group moderates its use and establishes policies. For example, the National Women's Agenda Satellite Project was stalled by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA's) control of the topics that could or could not be discussed.

Potential users may lack the necessary infrastructure, such as access to a computer or telephone line, encouragement from parent organizations, knowledge, and resources. Language can be another barrier to access. For a worldwide women's network, translation and mediating regional language differences may be expensive but vital. Broad-based networks such as the Internet are currently expensive for developing countries; consequently, discussion groups devoted to gender issues are usually centred in Northern academic institutions and are biased in favour of academic interests. Indeed, there is real concern that access to networks might make information more expensive and increase the gap between those who can afford to be connected and those who cannot. Technology transfer and donor assistance will be necessary to keep the gap between the information rich and the information poor from growing.

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Electronic mail (E-mail) is a technology that women can approach in a practical way. E-mail is important because it is more "horizontal" in nature than some of the other "hierarchical" communication formats. For many, E-mail is a great communication tool because it is relatively inexpensive and much faster than other modes of communication. Such efficiency is valuable when an idea can be shared and feedback received within a relatively short time-frame, regardless of physical location. Computer-mediated communications have capacities that offer women the potential for community control in three ways:

— They facilitate interaction and group decision-making;

— They emphasize message content rather than unrelated details about the author; and

— They reduce time and spatial constraints to organizing for political purposes.

Women's networking groups report that isolation can be reduced and empowerment enhanced in a liberating way. Within communities, networks facilitate the voicing of opinions. Unfortunately, for some, this way of communicating can lead to "information overload." Furthermore, relatively few women in low-income countries are in a position to take advantage of such technologies, because they lack the necessary resources and infrastructural support. However, over the last 5 years, the accessibility of the new communications technologies has been improving.

Some women's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including some in developing countries, are participating more effectively in networks. One of the

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most significant implications of this is the ability of grassroots organizations in the South to provide meaningful, ongoing input into national and international debates for the first time. Computer networking can facilitate women's access and input to decision-making and the power structures essential for participation. This was demonstrated by the NGO electronic networking initiative (NGONet) leading up to and during the UN Conference on the Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

The Association for Progressive Communications, an international network dedicated to serving the information and communication needs of NGOs around the world, was a key player in the NGONet project and will be active in preparations for the sixth world conference on women. Lessons must be learned from these initial successes so that women's groups can take full advantage of the benefits made available through this technology.

9.2.3. Technical Education

One of the biggest factors impeding women's ability to work in the area of telecommunications relates to their underrepresentation in technical education. These education opportunities tend to be geared toward the needs and aspirations of men. Although entry may be gender neutral, the incentive to enter and the incentive to remain reveal a significant degree of gender bias. Relatively few women study computer science at higher levels of education. In this day and age, information technologies have the power to change the world through their effect on economic growth and production. Women have much to offer, and their absence in this field must be investigated and given high priority in education

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Women have fewer opportunities to pursue computer training than men. Even though access to computers and computer training has expanded substantially, women are more likely to seek training to survive in a transformed workplace than to advance their interests. To improve women's ability to work with computers in a positive way, one approach might be to break away from formal training and develop programs that focus on issues of concern to women. Currently, the computer programs and training are seldom relevant or practical for women. There should also be more women trainers, especially for women who are learning how to use computers.

Three modes of training are required by women: the use of computers, that is, aspects of the keyboard and typing, basic concepts, operating systems, and software; computer networking, in terms of how to use e-mail and bulletin boards; and computer-assisted training, which is provided by software that allows a student to work through a lesson or presentation on a monitor and to respond as outlined by program instructions. No matter which mode of training women are interested in, they need appropriate support to overcome negative stereotypes associated with computer technology. Training must be extensive, on-going, and gender-sensitive.

More generally, outreach programs, help desks, on-screen help menus, and user-friendly software are vital if women are to make use of the new information technologies. In poorer countries particularly, the technology may be seen as "foreign" and not as malleable to local needs. Nevertheless, "once the technology is understood by some and used by many in the developing world, it becomes domesticated, familiar,

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non-threatening, and therefore capable of being harnessed to meet one's own needs". The effects of ICT on women and on gender equity must be examined on a case-by-case basis with attention not only to intended purpose but also to the practical services it offers, its marketing and promotion, media attention, training opportunities, infrastructure available, and costs.

International discussion about policy for the gender-and-information dimension of S&T for development is conspicuous by its absence. The report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, the McBride report, included a specific recommendation on equal rights for women. It concluded: The world cannot afford to waste the great resources represented by the abilities and talents of women. This is the thought that should be constantly in the minds of those responsible for decisions in communication. Since then, although work on national policies for information and the associated technologies has been extensive, few have made explicit reference to gender considerations. Clearly, there is scope for action.

Policy recommendations should account for the following factors:

The policy vacuum: Existing policy frameworks and policy-making processes should be examined and used as a basis for introducing change rapidly.

Gender equity: Policymakers should not assume that women are simply lagging behind and need to catch up in their perceptions, use, and the value they place on information systems as defined by men. Instead, policies should account for the information needs of both men and women and foster an understanding of the mutual benefits to be gained by society.

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Time frame: Policies should account for short-term and long-term needs, that is, both the present condition and the long-term strategic interests of women.

Participatory approach: The policy formulation process should encourage full participation of women and of the community in the design and management of all development information and communication initiatives.

Build on success:. Positive experiences of policy development in this field should be identified, shared, and examined for their broader relevance.

Many of the following policy recommendations can be applied equally at various levels, for example, local institution, national government, and international organization.

Information environment

— Include gender-and-information issues routinely, as an integral component of all international development forums and action plans.

— Identify, document, and promote successful women's information and communication activities, including their effects on women.

— Identify, document, and promote successful information and communication policies that have incorporated gender considerations.

— Examine and update all existing information and communication policies to ensure that they incorporate gender equity.

— Ensure that all development strategies and action plans routinely incorporate a development

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communication component that is sensitive to gender considerations.

Needs of information

— Promote effective participation of women throughout the process of developing information services, that is, from determination of needs, through system design, access, management, and control.

— Access and delivery

— Encourage discussion at all levels on the right of access to information.

— Formulate communication policies and standards that address the quality and quantity of media coverage of gender equity and issues of concern to women.

— Support innovative approaches in the media to enhance gender equity, to respond more effectively to the needs and interests of women, and to improve women's access to relevant S&T and other information.

— Support communication efforts that recognize the need for information to be presented and disseminated in appropriate channels and formats that are meaningful to women.

— Promote measures to increase information flows and networking relating to women and technology for development, especially South–South cooperation, including women's information resource centres to facilitate training and information-access appropriate to local needs.

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Knowledge of women

— Encourage development policies that acknowledge and build on the true productive role and expertise of women.

— Recognize tne value of women's local knowledge and promote its use by documenting it and disseminating it among community groups, and from the grassroots level to policymakers.

— Education, training, and sensitization

— Promote sensitization to gender issues through more effective provision of information on gender equity and the relative circumstances of women and men.

— Develop and expand appropriate education and training services for women and girls in the information and communication fields, and ensure that they have effective access.

— Increase women's awareness of the availability of various media and the ways they can be used and adapted for their own purposes.

Employment

— Ensure equitable opportunities for employment and advancement within national and international organizations involved in the information–communication field.

— Enabling technologies

— Incorporate analysis of the economic and social implications for women as an essential step in the development, acquisition, and use of these technologies.

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— Ensure equitable access by women to ICTs, to their development and adaptation, and to the benefits that can be derived from them.

— Identify, document, and promote successful experiences of women in using ICTs.

— Identify, document, and promote successful policies and strategies for addressing ICT gender issues.

— Increase the involvement of the donor community and development agencies in issues relating to gender and information technology.

— Ensure that ICT policies consider gender issues and that women play an active role in their development.

— Acknowledge that the relative absence of women from the field of information technology is to the detriment of all society and must be addressed in development strategies.

— Ensure that research and development (R&D) of ICT have considered gender issues, and give priority to R&D responding to the needs of women.

ICT needs

— Establish collaboratively the needs, priorities, and corresponding research in the field of gender and ICTs.

— Access and delivery

— Implement government policies that promote equitable access to ICT. Ensure that acquisition of ICT among the more prominent sectors of society is not carried out at the expense of disadvantaged women and other less-visible groups.

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— Expand support for community-based ICT centres, public-access electronic networks (freenets), and other measures to promote women's access and collaboration, especially South–South links.

— Ensure that ICT adoption proceeds in a constructive way and does not widen the gap between the information rich and the information poor.

— Education, training, and sensitization

— Identify and strengthen local capacity and mechanisms for adapting ICT to women's needs.

— Build awareness of the connection between the need for women to acquire computer and information skills and the need to enhance women's participation in politics and leadership, and to encourage proactive policies among political parties, international and national NGOs, and other institutions.

— Support national research in the fields of science and education to develop a more contextually relevant computer science that will be more applicable to women.

— Review education and training policies, programs, and curricula to eliminate gender bias and to ensure that women and girls are better equipped to work with the new technologies.

— Develop programs for retraining and upgrading the skills of women in computer-based technologies to improve their employment options.

— Promote awareness of gender inequity currently evident in the design and management of ICT activities and take positive measures to increase the participation of women.

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— Review gender sensitivity in S&T education to improve equity in enrolment and course material.

Most available research on gender, information, and S&T has been carried out in the North; research in the South is not as visible and is less accessible through the usual channels. Furthermore, much of the research has focused on two areas: the implications of ICT for education and employment. One such analysis concluded, "There is no evidence to suggest that women are benefiting from the widespread diffusion of the new technologies through increased access to the new technology jobs". This observation could well apply across the information–communication field, in all areas from mass media to software design. If this is the view from the North, the picture from the South is hardly likely to be less bleak.

A new international research agenda is needed to focus on the many neglected areas of practical and strategic concern to women. Such an agenda should take into account the following four factors:

Collaborative approach: The scope of the research agenda is vast and potentially overwhelming. The most effective way to ensure rapid progress in key areas is to encourage coordination of effort through national and international research networks, fuelled by effective exchange of information.

Practical focus: Research programs must be linked to policy change and development action. The use of case studies will provide a particularly valuable source of practical lessons learned.

Capacity-building: The research agenda should be structured to ensure that it strengthens the local research capacity and accounts for existing local knowledge and expertise.

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Sharing knowledge: Successful research is of little value if the findings are not shared within the concerned community and converted into action. Priority must be given to capturing new knowledge systematically and to finding appropriate ways of bringing it to the broader audience.

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10

Women's/Gender Studies in Asia

The major issues that have beset the development of women's studies in different locations in India, and the kinds of challenges before us today. Compared to the women's movement in India, conceptions of women's studies are remarkably hazy. Now, in many ways this is surely ironic. After all, one would imagine that, precisely by virtue of its academic orientation and the standard products of women's studies - books, reports, courses and so on - a much firmer grasp of the history and nature of women's studies would be available, especially when compared to the considerably more inchoate and diffuse forms of a movement. But this has not been the case. Women's studies is the "academic arm" of the women's movement, and references have even been made to a women's studies movement, as a mark of its irreducibly political and interventionist character.

However, while the women's movement, at least since the 1990s, has had its share of critics and chroniclers, nothing equivalent by way of overviews exist where women's studies is concerned, some pioneering efforts notwithstanding. When references are made to Women's Studies, it is not clear whether we are talking

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about a "subject" with its own curriculum, about a field of scholarship on women, gender and feminism, about outreach and advocacy on women's issues, or about specific Women's Studies programmes or centres. Such confusion has provoked a situation where people are able to come to all kinds of conclusions about women's studies in the present context - while some believe that it doesn't effectively exist and others criticize it for being a ghetto, still others think of it as enjoying plenty of popularity or of being a successful funding category!

How might one provide better conceptions of the evolution and priorities of women's studies in post-independence India? We are lucky to possess some recent reflections by figures such as Neera Desai, director of the first university based women's studies centre in 1974, and Vina Mazumdar, Member Secretary of the Committee on the Status of Women and director of the non-university based Research Centre for Women's Studies (CWDS) in 1980. But, many other voices will be equally necessary to give a fuller sense of the difficulties and contradictions that have been part of the making of women's studies in India.

The concrete beginnings of women's studies must be located in the tumultuous decade of the 1970s, when the Indian nation-state suffered the first major challenges to its legitimacy. These years witnessed the rise of a range of social and political movements in different parts of the country, both urban and rural. Protests against spiraling prices brought ordinary housewives onto the streets in a number of cities, tribals and agricultural labourers organized for land rights, students became radicalized, and new women's groups sprang into being. As the result of all this upheaval, in 1975, the then Congress

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government under Indira Gandhi suspended democratic rights to bring the country under Emergency rule.

At least one of the forces to have engendered women's studies in the 1970s was, therefore, a revitalized women's movement, when feminists raided the academy, and public campaigns from "outside" produced reverberations "within." But, these undoubtedly local developments cannot be simply separated out from national and international initiatives, including the worldwide rise of women's movements, preparations for the UN Year for Women, and the contradictory agendas of the Indian State. Relationships between the women's movement and women's studies have been complex and multiple, not least because of the critical role played by institutions of higher education.

The thematic of education has been so historicized as to enable a tracking of significant shifts in the women's movement and in debates on education, and their social consequences for the emergence of the field of women's studies. The study opens with a comparison between two historical moments: the mid-19th century demand for education as a necessity for women, which is then set off against the late 20th century recognition of "women's studies" as a critical instrument in the educational process. The first moment is located in the colonial period when social reformers were moved to transform so-called "Indian tradition" by providing the right kind of education for women, while the second moment has its context in the not so distant past of the 1970s, when women's studies was first named and conceived in order to enable the questioning of the existing educational system and dominant systems of knowledge.

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During the period of social reform, (which evolved from the mid-19th century to the 20th century in different regions of the sub-continent), the problem of the "status of women" or "the women's question," to use the language of those times, was central to a whole range of social movements. Though reformers had remarkably different, if not diametrically opposed, agendas, they all agreed on this: women had to be educated. Given the elite bias of most of these reformers, however, the dominant focus was on women as the custodians of traditional cultural values, who, as wives and mothers, needed to uphold the family while at the same time complementing their husbands' changing needs and desires. As a result, the emphasis was largely on separate women's schools, different curricula and languages of instruction, even different standards.

In other words, education was not envisaged as an equal right in itself, and rarely went beyond elementary or at most secondary education, except for rare exceptions, such as Savitribai Phule and Pandita Ramabai, or D.K. Karve who founded the first women's university in the city of Pune in 1916. Though the official education commissions during the pre-independence era, and even to some extent after independence, continued to advocate separate curricula for women, other perspectives also emerged.

The All India Women's Conference, for instance, (established in 1927 and which became the most influential women's organization in the 1930s with over a thousand members) demanded that education be common for both men and women; as did the Gandhian concept of basic education for all. By the time of independence in 1947, the significance of education for

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both men and women was widely recognized and endorsed. The Constitution ratified in 1950 included Article 45 - concerning the provision of free and compulsory education by the state for all children up to 14 years within a period of 10 years; Article 16 on non-discrimination on grounds of sex in public employment; and Article 15(3) concerning special provisions for the welfare and development of women and children.

10.1. Women's Education in Post-independence India

How much changed with independence? Colonial frames of reference continued to inform post-independence education commissions, Constitutional guarantees of formal equality notwithstanding. In spite of claiming to make a break with the colonial past, and view men and women as equal citizens of the new nation with equal abilities to carry out the same academic work, a "persistent ambivalence" rested on women: Modernity and tradition had to somehow be combined where women's education was concerned, precisely because the passing on of tradition could "not be acquired by chance," but required "laboratory experience in the care of home and family." Though this tenor of the first post-independence University Education Commission headed by Dr. Radhakrishnan was to change significantly in subsequent Commissions of the 1950s and 60s (such as the Durgabai Deshmukh Committee on Women's Education, the Hansa Mehta Committee and the Kothari Commission) Desai and Mazumdar underscore that

> all these committees, whether headed by a man or a woman, whatever their political inclination, failed to

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articulate the relationship between women's equality, their participation in national development and the development of education itself.

It would be a major mistake, however, to simply read this as a sign of incomplete modernity, or of conservatism. Leading educationists were convinced that universities had to play an interventionist and activist role and expand the areas of their intellectual concerns. Moreover, for a post-independence generation of middle-class women, major gains were possible, and there were many who could find support from amongst a small, but committed group of critical social scientists. Indeed, this rapid expansion hid the severe contradiction of the faster rate of growth of women entering higher education, and extremely low levels of general literacy. These were among the major disquieting findings of the Committee on the Status of Women in India's (CSWI) Towards Equality report of 1974 prepared for the UN Year of Women in 1975 - the first systematic effort after independence by a group of scholars to look into the social, economic, legal, political and cultural status of women across the entire country.

Far from benefiting from the developmental efforts of the country after independence, the condition of the majority of the female population, especially in rural areas, had in fact deteriorated. This was particularly visible in declining trends in the female/male sex ratio, in women's participation in the economy, and their low political presence in the democratic electoral process. Instead of being a policy document destined to gather dust in government and UN offices, Towards Equality has been hailed as a "founding text" that galvanized both academics and activists into an examination of the

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reneged Constitutional and developmental promises made by the State.

Disturbing and even bizarre as it will seem to us today, Vina Mazumdar recalls that the first institutional sanction to women's studies from a state body came "as a direct response to the declaration of Emergency in June 1975". It was in the corridors of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, which is the government body responsible for sponsoring social science research in the country, that the CSWI's appeal to the social science community to pro-actively combat their neglect of women bore fruit in the form of a sponsored research programme targeting poor, marginalized, and "invisible" women. In a strange twist, the gamble was that these studies would not be perceived as a political threat, especially when the ICSSR would not be allowed to do "much else."

The first documents to emerge as the result included a Programme of Women's Studies and Critical Issues on the Status of Women: Suggested Priorities for Action, which initiated a wide range of research studies addressed to social scientists from disciplines such as economics, demography, sociology, political science and education.

The very first use of the term "women's studies" took place a few years earlier, and within a women's university. The SNDT University for women in Bombay, a quintessential product of the pre-independence agenda of social reform, engaged in providing a general college education to young women, had something of an identity crisis in the early 1970s: it was no longer enough to think of how best to "modernize" the education of young girls. In order to be able to respond to the changed realities of

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the new times, it was proposed in 1973 that a centre for women's studies be established with an explicit focus on research, documentation and an experimental approach to new courses. This change from an exclusive emphasis on women's education to one where "women's lives and experiences acquired the status of legitimate areas of academic concern, especially in relation to poor, uneducated women" is a clear example of the shift in perspective that gave institutional birth to women's studies in higher education.

Even though a theoretical view of women's systemic subordination was not yet on the horizon, women's studies was already being identified as an instrument of change. Moreover, this vision enjoyed the support not just of prominent academics, but of the university's administrators, and the Research Unit of Women's Studies, as it was first called, came to be established in 1974 as an autonomous unit housed in the sociology department, with the then head of department, Dr. Neera Desai appointed as its first honorary director. With the reaffirmation of democracy after the Emergency was lifted in 1977, and the growth of a fresh phase of the women's movement, these small and largely invisible beginnings within institutions of higher education were able to enter the wider public world of political debate. There was no turning back after that.

Even though centres explicitly devoted to research on women's issues were extremely small, and the established disciplines resisted change, especially the inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary thrust of women's studies, the field kept expanding during the subsequent decade of the 1980s. In order to gain a clearer perspective on the initial agendas directing women's

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studies, we therefore must not forget the multiple institutional inputs into women's studies during years of political upheaval, including the suspension of democratic rights and its aftermath. Recall that a hundred years ago the demand for the education of women had gone out as an essential ingredient of movements of social reform under a colonial state.

The interesting shift, is that when the women's movement re-emerged in the 1970s along with other protest movements (urban and rural, working-class, tribal and dalit) against increasingly centralized forms of post-colonial state power, this was accompanied by the widely expressed need for more information and knowledge about women. Everyone from UN agencies, to government funded centres such as ICSSR; to women in academics felt acutely this sense of ignorance, the lack of even basic information.

Not surprisingly, differences emerged over what kinds of data and scholarship were required for the development of the field. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that a consensus seems to have formed that was ratified as early as the first National Conference on Women's Studies in Bombay in 1981: Women's Studies was a "critical perspective," not a discipline, least of all a special topic. And, as may be expected in turbulent and angry times when visions of what has to be done are totalizing in scope, this was a perspective that "required articulation in every discipline, institution, in all studies and at all levels."

In 1979, Vina Mazumdar and Kumud Sharma produced the first discussion on the scope of women's studies - "Women's Studies: New Perspectives and Challenges". This paper literally burst at the seams with

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questions and ideas. It looked back to the history of social reform, the political mobil zation of women during the nationalist struggle, and the Constitutional guarantee of equality to question the large-scale neglect of women by the social sciences in the immediate decades after independence. It also looked around at the range of work just emerging, especially studies that challenged older theses on the role of "tradition" or "culture" to account for women's low status.

Instead, they drew attention to, and called out for more, studies on women's participation in agriculture, in the urban informal sector, the effects of modernization, women's declining political representation, the nature of contemporary socialization processes, and so on, to argue strongly for a "re-examination of conventional theories and strategies for women's development" and a recognition of "the complexity and the magnitude of problems of women and development". These are, no doubt, cursory and incomplete glimpses into formative moments in the establishment of women's studies in the 1970s. Even so, they do provide the first answer to all those who, two decades later, wonder about the institutional location of women's studies.

The reason why the Indian case is so hazy and confused is that women's studies was never conceived as a separate field of study, but was addressed to the social science community as a whole. The demand was intervention and transformation of the entire educational system, and the principal site from which to undertake this was higher education - in universities and research centres. Furthermore, research itself was envisaged as a form of outreach, linking a politically aware educated middle class to the lives and realities of the much larger

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mass of women outside. The belief and hope was that research and activism would become increasingly linked to the point of achieving a convergence between women's studies and the women's movement. The main points would be the following:

1. 1974-81 marks the institutional beginning of women's studies in India.
2. Concerted efforts, including those made within institutions of higher education, led to the establishment of women's studies, well before official recognition by bodies such as the University Grants Commission.
3. In its formative period, women's studies is primarily conceived of as research.
4. Questions of education - the primary focus on women prior to this time -recede from view.
5. Reviews of research undertaken before and after 1975 have made a strong case for considering this time to be a watershed in more ways than one:
   - — Firstly, the paucity of research on women is noted: in the period 1970-75, out of hundreds of research projects supported by the University Grants Commission only 4 were on women.
   - — Secondly, critiques were made of the elitist, middle class bias of earlier studies, and of the inability to perceive the nature and structure of the devaluation of women.
6. Women's studies was never conceived of as a separate discipline.
7. The number of institutions explicitly devoted to women's studies was small well into the 1980s. Apart

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from the Research Unit of Women's Studies in Bombay, two Delhi based organizations devoted to research were set up during this period: The Institute of Social Studies Trust in 1976 by Devaki Jain, and the Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) established in 1980 under the aegis of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, as a "catalyst" in the production of new researches on women in the context of socio-economic and demographic transformations. It would thus lead to major distortions to equate the growth of women's studies exclusively with the establishment of women's studies programmes.

8. The bulk of the new research on women from the late 70s onward were undertaken by scholars and activists located in university or college departments, in research centres and other organizations, who were moved to respond to a range of issues while working within and against the frameworks of existing disciplines. Much of this was accomplished without any explicit reference to "women's studies." It is therefore in the broad sense of denoting the writing and scholarship on women engendered in the wake of the political upheavals and academic re-awakenings of the 1970s and after that the term "women's studies" is being used.

One of the most laudable activities of centres, such as the Research Unit in Bombay and the CWDS in Delhi, has been their success in setting up a library and documentation centre in their respective institutions, headed by librarians with a special interest in housing not just books and journals, but also conference documents, unpublished papers, statistical sources, project and research reports, laws and acts, newspaper

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clippings, and audio-visual materials on women's issues. The main data base of the CWDS of books, monographs, research reports, and so on stands at over 30,000 entries.

Achievements there have undoubtedly been - as women's studies expanded during the 1980s, it even gained prominence in certain areas by the 1990s. Critical appraisals of development from a gender perspective had by this time found a respectable niche in the field of economics; the history of colonial India was dramatically "recast"; and, in the case of English literature, feminist interrogation went well beyond considerations of gender alone to bring about a crisis in the discipline itself.

The main reason why it is nonetheless not possible to provide a clear assessment of its institutional impact has to do with the simultaneous vastness and thinness in the spread of women's studies. This means that while we may derive some comfort from the enormous amount of work that is taking place under the name of "women" and "gender", the considerable unevenness in its impact gives women's studies the appearance of a ghetto (or alternately of a selectively successful funding category). It might be useful at this point to provide some idea of the kind of publishing avenues available in India today: The first magazine to emerge from women's groups was Manushi: A Journal of Women and Society launched in 1979.

By 1985, a major social science journal the Economic and Political Weekly was persuaded to set apart a special section twice a year, in April and October, for a Review of Women's Studies. In the late 1980s, the Centre for Women's Development Studies began a journal called Samya Shakti: A Journal of Women's Studies which reemerged in 1995 as the Indian Journal of Gender

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Studies. In the late 1970s and early 80s, the Research Unit of Women's Studies in Bombay was a special outlet for the publication of new research (but with no facilities for distribution). This was followed by the establishment of a professional feminist publishing house in the mid-1980s - Kali for Women. Since the 1990s, most mainstream publishers in India have their "Gender" sections along side other themes and disciplines.

While it may not be possible to provide an overview, some pointers can nonetheless be ventured. A good place to start a review of research in women's studies over the last 2-3 decades would be from the side of the women's movement. This means examining the kinds of knowledge produced at the interface of the movement within higher education in a more disaggregated manner. How exactly did specific campaigns "produce" or engender the necessary knowledge required for action? For instance, some of the biggest early campaigns that were undertaken by a number of women's organizations across the country from the late 1970s onwards relate to the issue of violence against women, not just domestic violence but also state violence, and class, community, caste violence as well.

Indeed, in the minds of the vast majority of the public, women's issues are associated with violence. However, what is surely interesting is that in spite of all the attention to violence on the ground, this has not been complemented with comparable research in universities and research institutions. Areas such as domestic violence continue to be under-researched, and themes, such as state violence or caste-based violence, suffer even more in this regard. Indeed, contemporary studies of

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domestic violence appear to be emerging from a different site than that of higher education, namely the NGO sector.

Only in certain specific cases, such as the campaigns against sati, (the practice of widow-burning on the funeral pyre of her dead husband), and the struggle to understand and oppose communal violence, has the women's movement had the advantage of some scholarship on the subject, with feminists subsequently producing path-breaking analyses of these issues for both academic and wider audiences.

Though the women's movement has repeatedly taken recourse to the law and successfully fought for a series of amendments, this has had next to no impact on the study and teaching of the law, at least until recently. Interestingly, it is only when new universities for the teaching of law were established a few years ago (such as the National Law School in Bangalore), that a place for feminist engagements and interpretations in this critical field found a place within the law curriculum. This brings us to the next related point already emphasized before, namely the all-important thrust of women's studies as "a dimension or perspective that required articulation in every discipline, institution, in all studies and at all levels."

It is not obvious how women's studies was meant to intervene within the existing structures of higher education, when, as everyone knows, the university system is not just organized around discrete disciplines, but is also deeply hierarchical across disciplines, with the sciences at the top of the hierarchy, economics further down, and the lower rungs of the ladder occupied by other social sciences and humanities. It is, therefore, not

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accidental that the sciences have been most immune to questions of gender, with the possible exception of medicine and health. It is also not accidental that, given the dominant role played by the discipline of economics within the social sciences in post-independent India, it is this discipline that played a formative role in the early stages of the development of women's studies in the 1970s and 80s.

Many feminists and activists who may not themselves have had any prior training in the subject matter of economics found themselves drawing on the resources it provided for understanding the impact of development on women, the question of women's employment, the nature of the household, the problems of peasant women, property relations, and the policy implications of all of these. On its part, it took a long time before mainstream economics acknowledged at least some of the work being undertaken - as of today we can speak of a sub-field within developmental and labour economics that is directly concerned with issues of women and gender.

To some extent, this has been aided by the agendas of international agencies and NGOs concerned with questions of development and interested in approaching gender through statistical methods of quantification and comparison - both economics and demography lend themselves well to these kinds of analyses. Economics has also been more responsive to other international pressures to change the paradigm of development, such as environmentalism, but less open to more "local" issues, such as extra-economic and cultural forms of inequality based on caste and community.

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On the other hand, given the kind of authority that economics wields, and its tendency to depend on statistics and mathematics as analytical tools, feminists and activists who have not used these methods tend not to be taken as seriously and have a harder time being listened to by economists. The next discipline to have had a strong impact is that of history, at least since the 1980s. This was not yet the case in the 1970s: History was the one discipline, according to Vina Mazumdar and Kumud Sharma when they were writing their discussion paper, that was still "luke-warm to the challenge of women's studies."

It is very interesting to see what sort of two-way process of exchange and transformation has taken place between history and women's studies. On the one hand, certain understandings of history - the division into ancient, medieval and modern India (earlier referred to as the Hindu, Muslim and British periods respectively), the critical role of colonialism - have been revised as the result of feminist scholarship. Feminists have also made historiographical breakthroughs by going beyond the conventional archive, whether these are alternate writings by women, or through the remarkable resources of oral history.

On the other hand, dominant traditions of historiography have in turn left their imprint on women's studies - the least studied period of Indian history overall is that of medieval India. When it comes to women and gender, feminist interrogations of this vast period of India's past remain a virtual blank apart from isolated incursions into the bhakti movement (literally meaning devotion, this is the name given to popular religious protest movements between the 12th and 17th centuries in which a women and lower castes were active).

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Moreover, while certain regions of India and centuries in modern India have been relatively well-studied, attention elsewhere has been much more sparse.

If, in 1981, there was just one university based unit for women's studies and two research centres, this situation changed during the next decade. By 1983, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Bombay, a major post-graduate teaching and research university with a special focus on social work, established its first unit of women's studies. In 1985, in the city of Hyderabad in central India, an activist women's organization acutely felt the need for an institutional forum in which activists and academics could work together. Believing that universities and other academic institutions did not have the interdisciplinary institutional structures necessary for enabling women's studies, and that they would be too inflexible towards political engagement with a wider public sphere, the Anveshi Research Centre for Women's Studies was born as an independent organization

The next example is very unusual, and goes quite against the trend elsewhere. The establishment of women's studies in Alagappa University represents a clear indication of the degree of regional and institutional variety in the country, since it is a private university established in the small town of Karaikudi in the southern state of Tamil Nadu in 1985, with a prominent focus on science and commerce courses. In spite of such an "alien milieu," the influence of its first Vice Chancellor appears to have been sufficient, not only for setting up a women's studies centre, but even a full-fledged post-graduate MA in Women's Studies in 1989.

However, most of the other centres that came to be established from 1987 onwards appear to have received

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their major institutional support if not impetus from the University Grants Commission (UGC), the central state body responsible for governing, and to different degrees also financing, the university system in India. In the wake of the first National Conference on Women's Studies held in 1981, which brought as many as 380 participants to Bombay - students, teachers, activists, and also a number of university Vice Chancellors and the then Chairperson of the University Grants Commission - pressure was exerted on the UGC, to translate the recommendations of the conference into university level policy initiatives. It is worth emphasizing here what has already been glimpsed before, namely the ability of the founding generation of women's studies scholars, to act in a "top down" fashion, in this case using their influence within the UGC to try and affect changes in the university system.

After several meetings, which also included international inputs from the predecessor of this consultation, a UNESCO initiative on women's studies and the social sciences in the Asia-Pacific Region held in Bangkok in 1983, efforts crystallized into a scheme to create units or cells of women's studies in universities and undergraduate colleges. References to women's studies even found their way into the National Policy of Education formulated in 1986. The first guidelines for the establishment of these units in 1986 reiterated that women's studies was to provide a perspective at all levels and for all disciplines, engage in a combination of research, extension and teaching, and so play "an interventionist role" within and beyond university structures. Towards this end, the UGC would provide a modest annual grant.

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In 1987, the research unit of women's studies at SNDT in Bombay received UGC recognition, and five new units or centres were set up (out of the seven universities initially selected) - in universities in Trivandrum (Kerala), Chandigarh (Punjab), the University of Delhi, the University of Pune and Benares Hindu University (Uttar Pradesh). Over the next decade the number of such centres in the country increased to as many as 22; today they stand at 33. The women's studies programme in Jawaharlal Nehru University is one of the youngest, having been inaugurated in 2000.

First of all, it must be emphasized that this kind of institutional support from an administrative state body towards a new field of study with claims of creating institutional change - ideologically as well as academically - is surely unique in the history of higher education in India. Certainly, one cannot think of any parallel examples - whether in prior fields such as labour studies, or in more recent concerns with Dalit and minority issues. While not wishing to detract in any way from the energy and commitment of a founding generation of women's studies practitioners and institution builders, it is nonetheless noteworthy that existing reflections on the making of women's studies in India, such as the pioneering collection edited by Devaki Jain and Pam Rajput, which includes the significant essay by Neera Desai and Vina Mazumdar already referred to, and a number of valuable case studies on individual women's studies centres, have not dwelt at any length on this phenomenon.

Secondly, based on the limited information currently available, it would be a huge mistake to generalize or homogenize about the scope and structure of UGC

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supported women's studies centres. Each of them has a specific history, whether in terms of their founding director's prior involvements in women's issues, politics and scholarship; the time of their establishment; the availability of university level support; their relationship to other women's organizations and the women's movement; the nature of the university in question - whether central, state, or private; the presence of undergraduate and postgraduate affiliated institutions; and so on.

Unfortunately, networking between these centres is as yet poorly developed, so that direct relationships between centres is confined to a small number (mostly in metropolitan cities), with the rest appearing to function more or less in isolation from one another. The only generalizations possible at this stage have, therefore, to do with the kinds of possibilities as well as constraints set in place by the University Grants Commission's guidelines. A typical centre already from its first phase has been given quite an ambitious list of tasks. According to the recent set of guidelines put out by the UGC in 1997, these activities include the following:

1) Teaching and Training - compulsory foundation courses for all faculties; integrating feminist perspectives into all disciplines; and specialized women's studies courses at various levels from Certificate Courses to PhD;

2) Research on a range of themes - from the new economic policy, to reproductive health, and decentralization; family, migration, violence; feminist theorizing and so on;

3) Extension activities involving social action and community development;

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4) Dissemination through library acquisitions, documentation and publications; and

5) Advocacy on public and policy related issues.

Even allowing for flexibility in the above array of activities and the recognition that teaching, in particular, would have to be initiated in a phased manner well after centres have been established, there is a severe mismatch between demand and supply. The infrastructural support provided to carry out such a multi-dimensional programme has been extremely small. Women's studies centres are typically headed by honorary directors who are already professors in their respective departments and take on this additional responsibility with no reductions in their existing duties. They are provided with a minimal support staff such as a research officer, an office assistant or a librarian, whose salaries are paid out of the annual grant (initially set at Rs.500,000 or about US$12,500), which also has to cover expenses related to all the activities of the centre.

The idea of being a "catalyst," and not a department in its own right, has meant that a successful centre has to find ways of drawing in other faculty from existing departments with interests and capabilities in the field of studying women and feminism, once again making demands on people over and above their existing responsibilities. As practically all the existing case studies would attest, for the directors concerned, especially founding directors, a very significant, indeed empowering, process of self-development and sense of recognition has been enabled by their new position. But, it remains less clear how many women's studies centres have been successful as "hubs" of activity in terms of drawing in a larger group of faculty and students.

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In a number of cases, centres have been unable to achieve the necessary synergy - they tend to become too closely identified with their respective directors, who do not actively involve other university faculty; or the opposite has happened, with centres finding themselves cut off from mainstream departments who do not wish to be associated with women's studies. This means that vibrant centres are over-stretched as they attempt to address themselves to a whole array of tasks, but with insufficient support and sometimes in the face of opposition. Others tend to lapse into projects, workshops and activities that do not require the involvement of a larger community of teachers or students, but can be carried out with the support staff available.

While the carrying out of research projects, or certain kinds of outreach activities, need not place undue demands on a particular centre, matters are somewhat different when it comes to questions of courses, pedagogy and curriculum development. When women's studies first emerged in the late 70s and early 80s it was largely equated with new research on women. Issues of education tended to recede from view. However, when such issues do make a reappearance, whether this be the mandate of bringing in a gender perspective "at all levels" of the educational system, or again in the UGC guidelines of 1997 just referred to, they remain overly general. After all, how exactly is the mandate to "integrate feminist perspectives into all disciplines" to be carried out, and who are equipped to do so?

A few women's studies centres have placed on record their ability to play some role in modifying the curriculum in other departments in the university or even in affiliated undergraduate colleges. The typical form this

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takes within the Indian university system is through the introduction of an "optional course or paper" in women's studies in a particular discipline at the post-graduate or undergraduate level. To take a recent example, the University of Delhi has an optional paper in Political Science for undergraduate students called "Women in the Political Process." However, in this case it must be acknowledged that the actual efforts required for producing, not just a syllabus, but also a textbook of readings in Hindi (the language of the north Indian region) came from feminist undergraduate college lecturers rather than the Delhi University women's studies centre. UGC women's studies centres in Benares Hindu University and Calcutta University do appear to have been active on the curriculum front, and have been, by their own account, successful in influencing faculty to change their syllabi and adopt new teaching materials.

The School of Social Sciences in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), established in 1969, is well known nationally and internationally as a premier institution with progressive left-oriented post-graduate departments or "centres" in history, political studies, regional development, sociology (known as the centre for the study of social systems), and advanced centres in social medicine and public health, education, and science policy. JNU, in general, and its sociology department, in particular, offer significant insights into the kinds of trajectories that the subject of "women" can take within the university system. Well into the mid-1980s, there was little evidence of any courses on offer, either at the MA or MPhil (Master of Philosophy) level, whether compulsory or optional, that included new work coming out of women's studies or feminist scholarship.

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According to Patricia Uberoi, no women's component, let alone a feminist perspective, could be discerned from the 29 course titles in the MA, and 35 courses in the MPhil, on the rolls of the sociology centre in 1985. However, after joining the sociology centre that year, she was equally struck by the following: both men and women students displayed a genuine interest in women's issues, and some were active in the women's movement. Even more interesting was the significant presence of questions of gender when it came to students' choice of thesis topic at the MPhil and PhD levels - noticeable in 12 out of the 100 currently enrolled research students. This mismatch can be interpreted in a number of ways.

Sociology has one of the highest proportions of women students. It is also likely that women students are supposed to have a "natural" interest in studying women, that this is the most "practical" form of research for them to undertake, and, even more telling, that when it comes to undertaking research on women, no special expertise is required beyond "worthy intentions and common sense".

Thanks to the academic flexibility and openness at JNU, it was possible for Uberoi to introduce, in 1986, optional papers at the MA level, "Women and Society in India: A comparative perspective," as well as in the MPhil course, "Themes in Gender." Both men and women students opted for the new courses and the MA level course, in particular, proved to be very popular, attracting participants from other disciplines, with classes of as many as 60 students on occasion. Subsequently, these courses were "inherited" by others, and we are fortunate to have yet another account by Maitrayee Chaudhuri, who taught the MA course on Women and

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Society from 1993-2000. She begins her reflections by noting the distance traveled by her department in the intervening years - "gender" has since become a special thrust area, with gender components having been introduced into a number of compulsory sociology courses as well. However, Chaudhuri goes on to examine more closely whether one could consequently view this as a case of "mainstreaming" gender within the curriculum. She develops her response from two vantage points - that of the faculty, and on the basis of the concerns and experiences of students.

Broadly speaking, the faculty have readily accepted gender as another "variable," but not as a "perspective," so that little fundamental rethinking has happened in relation to the overall structure and scope of the discipline. Secondly, and following from this, doing gender continues to suffer from differential prestige, and is looked upon as "partial" in relation to other, presumably, more central sociological issues. From the side of students, other kinds of challenges emerge from Chaudhuri's reflections over her seven-year long teaching experience. On the one hand, she recalls the air of "difference" in the classroom - a sense of expectation, even excitement around the personal, political issues that could be raised, especially in the early years when there was a mix of male and female students.

But, on the other hand, she dwells at considerable length on the difficulties she frequently faced as a sociology teacher in making the connection between personal experience and theoretical reflection, between "common sense" and everyday knowledge about gender, and the realm of the "social." In other words, "mainstreaming" among students might be usefully translated into the pedagogical and feminist goal of

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linking the realms of the personal and the political through the medium of theoretical analysis and sociological understanding, a task that is often elusive. The more heterogeneous the student body - not just in terms of gender, but equally critical in terms of their class, caste and regional backgrounds, and the cross-cutting effects of all of these - the more difficult does the task become.

10.2. Case Studies

Women's studies in India did not promote the model of separate departments or plan that centres of women's studies take on the task of teaching their own courses. When new centres of women's studies were formed, these could be outside the university system or within universities, sometimes as part of a particular department or established as an "autonomous" unit. In spite of all the difficulties faced by some of these centres, in terms of their uncertain status within the university system and their lack of faculty, a few of them have found themselves initiating full-fledged degrees in Women's Studies. There are, as yet, no accounts of the impetus behind these efforts, especially in light of the fact that they inaugurate a very different trend from that of "integration" or "intervention." Therefore, only brief profiles will be provided of three kinds of courses being offered.

KrantiJyoti Savitribhai Phule Women's Studies Centre, University of Pune: The Women's Studies Centre in Pune was established in 1987 as a UGC sponsored centre within the sociology department of that university. In 1997, its relationship with the sociology department was

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severed and it became an autonomous centre. The Women's Studies Centre has been extremely active on many fronts, and began its first teaching effort in 1995 with a post graduate interdisciplinary certificate course in Women's Studies. This part-time one-year course means to provide students with an introduction to women's movements, locally and globally, to theoretical perspectives in feminism, and to basic issues in gender and development, gender and culture, and social history, with a special emphasis on the history of Western India where Pune is located. Interestingly, the prospectus of the centre begins by describing Women's Studies as a "discipline," albeit a unique one that "underlines the connections between knowledge, experience and social transformation."

The certificate course consists of four papers, each subdivided into modules to cover the range of themes mentioned above. When it was first offered in 1995, there were 11 women students who joined. Since then, the numbers have been steadily increasing, with a small number of male students also choosing the course - 6 men and 39 women took the course in 2000-01, and overall enrollment appears to have stabilized around these figures. A large number of those taking the Certificate course are students studying for their MA in the university, who wish to take this in addition to their regular classes. It must also be noted here that, strictly speaking, the Women's Studies Centre does not have any permanent faculty.

The salaries of all the faculty, from the director (at the professorial level), the second faculty at the lecturer-level, to the two teaching associates (who have completed their MPhil and are currently enrolled for PhD) all come

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out of the annual grant of the UGC, which has to be renewed every year, and is notoriously prone to uncertainty and delay. This core group also relies on about 7 visiting faculty, composed of activists, researchers and college teachers, all from outside the university, who contribute a set of 3-4 lectures in their areas of specialization. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the centre has proceeded to start a Diploma course since 2002, and also a one-year part-time course, structured to follow the certificate course as an advanced course in Women's Studies.

It is composed of four papers in feminist epistemology, methodology, and qualitative research; major themes in gender studies in India; globalization and gender; and a final optional paper involving a research project. This course has attracted a small but mature number of participants, many of them experienced college teachers and activists now interested in doing research on women and gender issues. The centre also offers three optional credit courses at the MA level (feminist theory and feminist movements; gender, culture and history; gender, development and globalization). Currently, a new part-time course is being devised for undergraduate students.

The Women's Studies Centre in Pune is, therefore, massively involved in a number of efforts to teach Women's Studies to a range of students. So far, all these courses are in the nature of adjuncts or optional components to the regular MA degree, and the question of whether they should aim to start an MA of their own is being considered. What is remarkable is the considerable institutional and financial fragility within which they are working, a pattern one will find in other cases as well.

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Masters in Women's Studies, Lucknow University: In 1998, the University of Lucknow began a full-fledged MA in Women's Studies along with Isabella Thoburn College, a women's college affiliated to the university. In Lucknow University, the initiative was taken by a professor of Philosophy, who at one time was also Vice Chancellor of the university, with inputs from the local unit of Oxfam. This may, therefore, be the first university teaching venture in establishing women's studies as a discipline that has drawn on an international NGO for assistance. The degree course is being taught by 5 guest faculty drawn from outside the university - from the Giri Institute of Development Studies, a research centre in the city, from NGOs and from among ex-students.

Additional special lectures by visiting faculty from outside Lucknow are enabled with financial assistance from Oxfam. The two year MA is fully enrolled with 30 women students taking five papers each year, who are also expected to write a short dissertation in their second year. The 10 papers are concepts and theories in feminism, women and society in India, histories of women's movements; gender and economics; women and law; women and education; women and health; women, politics and the state; women, literature and the media; and women, environment, science and technology. According to its coordinator, Professor Roop Rekha Varma, what matters most is the perspective provided to the students, who come in with a basic undergraduate degree in any subject, and sometimes have to overcome parental opposition to choose an MA in Women's Studies rather than a "mainstream" discipline.

Jadavpur University, Kolkata: The School of Women's Studies was established in 1989 as one of 11 interdisciplinary Schools within Jadavpur, (created to

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push the boundaries of existing disciplines on major issues of social concern, such as the environment, energy, water management, media, and so on) and received UGC sanction at the end of that financial year. Already, in 1990, a workshop on curriculum development was organized with a view to engage with mainstream departments and the affiliated J.D. Birla College of Home Science.

Interestingly enough, however, by 1999, the School had moved from its professed "catalytic" approach to launch a full-fledged MPhil course of its own in Women's Studies. The School of Women's Studies in Jadavpur is one of the few with strong institutional support from faculty within the university, mainly from the departments of English and Comparative Literature, and also from History and Philosophy. This two-year course consists of a number of modules or "groups" - women's studies and feminism; women, society and the state; schools of feminist thought, and women's movements are taught as part of Paper I. Paper II is broadly divided into gender in the social sciences, and the cultural construction of gender in society. In their second year, students write a full-length dissertation guided by a supervisor. The maximum number of such students in any given year is 15.

With only a skeleton staff composed of the honorary director (a rotating position), a librarian and research associate within the School, the MPhil draws most of its teaching staff from amongst other Jadavpur faculty. The MPhil batch of 2002-04 is being taught by over 20 such guest faculty, including some teachers from other universities, activists and members of women's organizations. The relative recentness of these ventures in

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establishing Women's Studies as a discipline of sorts makes an assessment of the rationale of such courses, and their relationship to the overall structure of the university, premature.

However, the emergence of Women's Studies as a discipline, a subject with a curriculum, howsoever institutionally dispersed and fragile, represents a further shift in the evolution of women's studies in India. In order to situate this shift more carefully, it is necessary to say something about the changed contexts of the last decade. But before doing so, mention must be made of a significant "mainstreaming" effort being undertaken by a number of women's studies centres, namely, conducting "refresher courses," as well as the major Indian association of women's studies.s

10.2.1. Refresher Courses

The University Grants Commission helps to finance a system of so-called refresher courses in all subjects for the benefit of college and university teachers across the country. These are of about four weeks duration, composed of a series of guest lectures coordinated by designated university faculty, and, as the title suggests, are meant to "refresh" such teachers about the latest developments in the discipline. Attending two refresher courses has recently been made mandatory for promotion from lecturer (assistant professor) to reader (associate professor) grade. Several universities host these refresher courses, whether at the national or regional level every year.

In 1996, the Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) in Delhi took the initiative in securing UGC sanction to include women's studies as a subject for

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a refresher course. Teachers from any discipline are eligible to choose this theme if they so wish. Since 1998, a number of women's studies centres - in Delhi, Jadavpur, Benares, Pune, and Bombay - have been organizing these refresher courses. The CWDS gave considerable thought to elaborating a syllabus, as well as a set of readings that would serve as a broad introduction to women's studies, thus enabling college teachers to further their interest in the field. At any one time, 30-40 teachers attend these courses, implying that over the last five years or so, several hundred teachers would have been exposed to women's studies, in addition to refresher courses from their own discipline.

Each university has full autonomy in designing these refresher courses, and so there is considerable variation in approach and resource persons. Whatever the limitations of such short courses, and the mixed motives of those who attend them, overall feedback from participants would justify the uniqueness of the opportunity of addressing teachers, often from small and far-flung colleges and universities, whom one would otherwise never reach.

10.2.2. Indian Association of Women's Studies (IAWS)

The Indian Association of Women's Studies (IAWS) was established in the wake of the first National Conference of Women's Studies held in Bombay in 1981. The IAWS has since evolved and grown, building on the special relationship between academics and activism that has characterized so much of women's studies in India. The IAWS is now well-established, headed by an executive committee elected every 2-3 years. Present membership stands at over 1000 life members.

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The main activity of the IAWS consists of planning a National Conference every two years or so. The IAWS is by far the most established association linking all those concerned with women's studies - scholars, teachers, students and activists. Given the vastness of the university system in India, and the large number of women's organizations and NGOs engaged in gender issues (including research, training and advocacy on a myriad issues), it would be impossible to provide a sense of their independent links or membership within wider networks internationally.

Today, three decades down the line, this shift has yielded its results in the form of a viable, ongoing body of research that is politically accountable. However uneven the scholarship, this wealth of work constitutes a critical foundation for others to build on. It is also important to bear in mind that, institutionally speaking, the period of the 1970s and 80s that witnessed the upsurge in new writing and research on women was a time of general expansion within higher education, when existing departments added to their faculty, new universities came to be established and research centres consolidated themselves. The fact of massive state support for higher education was practically taken for granted. This is the climate within which women's studies effectively developed as a field of multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary research.

However, much has changed since then, so much so that the 1990s have turned out to be a watershed decade. No one could have predicted this at the time, and everyone, women's studies practitioners included, have been caught on the wrong foot. India is in a period of transition, marked by multidimensional pressures on the

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nation-state. Globalization, liberalization and the opening up of the economy have been accompanied by newly visible caste cleavages and disparities, regional reassertions of various kinds, and an aggressive Hindu nationalism. The previous decade and our entry into the new millennium have, therefore, been deeply disorienting for those in the field of women's studies who owed so much to the ferment of the 1970s and the nationalist frameworks of those years.

After a generation of intervention and institution building, women's studies is facing a potential crisis over issues relating to its reproduction (as distinct from its inception). It is not accidental that questions of pedagogy, which were hitherto marginal within the overall emphasis on research, have recently begun to occupy more space. This is why questions that were left vague or unresolved at an earlier time must now be tackled concretely: Whom is women's studies for? What sorts of courses should we set in place and at what levels? Why is it that the wealth of material generated on women does not easily translate into a curriculum? It certainly does not look fortuitous that questions such as these have to be tackled at a historical moment when higher education in India is itself in crisis.

Women's studies has come of age at a time when the social sciences and the humanities (constituting the larger intellectual community) are themselves facing an uncertain future, due to reduced state funding, privatization within higher education, and the growth of a project culture increasingly dependent on foreign funding. An added source of vulnerability and loss of ground derives from ideological changes within the educational system. The Women's Studies Standing

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Committee within the University Grants Commission is attempting to restructure and redirect UGC supported women's studies centres, but in ways that are becoming a matter of grave concern. There are, as yet, only initial signs of the kinds of changes being envisaged, and so a fuller picture is yet to emerge.

An unofficial draft of a fresh set of guidelines for the Tenth Plan received by women's studies institutions in 2003, reveal that women's studies centres have been unilaterally renamed as "women and family studies centres." The overall tenor of the guidelines are equally problematic in that increasing centralization and control by state agencies is being sought in the name of a "convergence" of activities with state institutions. Theoretical and academic endeavour is devalued and the trend is towards a "practical" approach to improving the status of women in the country. Letters of protest have already been drafted to the Chairman of the UGC and the IAWS has been particularly active in raising questions in the media and through open letters.

10.3. Challenges and Issues

Women's studies is a unique and heterogeneous field in India, dispersed across institutions, organizations and individuals. First and foremost, therefore, the strength of women's studies lies precisely in its diversity. Women's studies has been enabled and sustained by a women's movement, by state support, by the presence of a large university system, by publishing houses and by various international inputs. There can be no question that India is particularly fortunate in this regard, especially when compared to its neighbours in the region. At the same

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time, however, numerous questions and uncertainties crowd in when thinking about the future of women's studies.

The tendency for active "catalytic" women's studies centres to seek to gain some measure of legitimacy and influence by evolving into teaching centres and perhaps even departments in their own right must, therefore, be understood against this failure. A related weakness, also already emphasized, has to do with the enormous expectations from women's studies practitioners - to engage in research, teaching, action and advocacy - and all this with very minimal institutional support.

Women's studies centres have been particularly affected by this "overload." The danger, of course, is that in having to be engaged on so many fronts, the quality and depth of academic engagement, in particular, suffers. All this points to the urgent need to help women's studies achieve institutional sustainability even as a force of critique. As a direct consequence of the initial emphasis on research, women's studies has been effectively located at the very apex of the educational system - in research centres or at the postgraduate level. This means that, on the whole, (and with the important exception of some women's colleges) undergraduate education has been least affected by women's studies. There is a further aspect to this institutional bias.

In India, undergraduate education is overwhelmingly carried out in the regional language, and this is also the case in state universities at the postgraduate level as well. However, most of the products of women's studies are written in English. There is consequently something of a chasm between the world of women's studies research and scholarship and

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the everyday reproduction of teaching, except in a few elite institutions. A major need here lies in the production of textbooks, in English but even more acutely in Indian languages. Of course, this does not even touch upon the unexplored question of the possible role that women's studies could perform at the school level.

Finally, women's studies needs to play a more proactive role in addressing differences and inequalities among women. In India, in recent years there has been growing awareness of ongoing practices of discrimination and inequality not just in terms of poverty, but equally due to caste and community. A major challenge for women's studies today, therefore, is not only to reach out to such groups through research and action, but to promote policies that would bring a more genuinely diverse body of women into the women's studies classroom.

Numerous critical contextual issues - the changing nature of the state's relationship to higher education; the growing communalization of public life and its effects on the educational system, issues of caste-based reservations policies (affirmative action) - must be taken into account today to come up with substantive recommendations regarding women's studies. While it is only too obvious that women's studies needs to be strengthened in India, much more careful thought is required in terms of identifying different possibilities as well as dangers.

In the current conjuncture, a certain autonomy from state agendas will become increasingly critical. At the same time, higher education in India is unthinkable without state support. The entry of private and international donors, while by no means a new phenomenon, is clearly on the rise, and is, for some, a controversial development.

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At the level of women's studies centres and mainstream disciplines, it is vital to overcome the trap of thinking either in terms of "integration" or "autonomy" if we are to make further headway in the development of the field. Innovative combinations of the "mainstream" and of available "alternatives" must be attempted if women's studies is to deepen its understanding of patterns of gender discrimination and respond creatively to the pressing challenges of the day.

Towards this end, women's studies in India can only benefit from greater interaction with others in the Asian region. As with most issues, India's default comparison is with Western contexts. A typical course on women's studies in India will have many more readings from the West than from the Third World, South Asia or Asia. Strengthening comparative frames where the West is not the automatic or sole point of reference, therefore, represents an opportunity for new discoveries and fresh insights.

10.3.1. Institutional Reports

Understanding social reality is a very complex and difficult task. Histories of various disciplines have shown that in spite of the varied conceptual frameworks and perspectives that have emerged at different periods of time, it is still difficult to comprehend the very essence of social reality. Like a mirage, it has always evaded the real view, making man disillusioned with his own definitions of social reality. One of the aspects of social reality that exists in every human society is gender disparity. It was accepted as a natural God-given phenomenon and never significantly challenged before the 19th century. Gender disparity never stops at the biological or anatomical level.

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It starts with it and permeates the entire gamut of social relationships.

Gender stratification imposes several disabilities on women, and confers several privileges on men who occupy high positions just because they are men. It holds that men are more important, more valuable, more worthwhile, more significant, more needed in every walk of life, irrespective of actual reality. The family, marriage, law, philosophy, language, religion and culture are all construed in such a way as to make women accept their subordination as natural. Amidst this reality, the Indian Woman has taken a new step, she has created a space beyond the horizon. The woman first unleashes with fury and intensity the residues of the male identity in herself.

The woman has discovered that she does have some choices and freedom now to give shape to her destiny, realizes that she is responsible for maintaining the sanctity of her bio-physiological being, of her psychological womanhood, of her self worth and of her dignity. She now defines and articulates her well-being as also to define the nature of her relationship with others, discovers she has some choices, and in the encounter with the woman identity within herself, she discovers she has exhausted all meanings internalized from the social system.

Researchers, including sociologists, social historians, and anthropologists, particularly of the 19th and 20th centuries, have highlighted and criticized inhuman social practices, and provided descriptions of positions of elite women in family, marriage and kinship network. By and large, studies have glamorized the position of women in earlier periods.

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The studies in the sixties were essentially on urban educated working women, while the legal studies focused on scriptural and statutory family laws which affected mainly the urban educated upper class women. The customary laws which governed the lives of the majority of women were out of the purview of the researches. The middle class bias of the study not only limited the coverage, but restricted the perspective in the analysis of the situation. Since 1970, the research interest in women has not only gained momentum, it also has given rise to new questions.

Women's Studies as an academic field is gradually finding a foothold in the higher education system in India. Integrating women's experiences, problems and perspectives in the various disciplines and courses is indeed an encouraging move. The position of women and women's issues are not merely to be made visible in the curricula, but they have to be examined from a definite perspective. Women's Studies began with the understanding and conviction that women's lot in today's society is not what it should be. Therefore, Women's Studies cannot be neutral, apolitical; its explicit purpose is to promote the interests of women, who are the oppressed.

Women's Studies is variously defined - "studying women with a women's perspective"; "looking at women in the world from women's point of view" and so on. The driving force behind women's studies is feminism. Feminism in its broadest sweep is a humanistic concern. It is a demand to restore to half of humanity their rightful place in human society to restore to women their humanity. Broadly, a feminist perspective is described as becoming "aware of the situation of women, of the relation of women to the world, of the oppression and

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discrimination to which women have been subject to and to use this as a power to change the situation." It is the process of doing this that has evolved into "Women's Studies."

The discourse and political practice of Women's Studies with its attendant complexities and dilemmas is a reflection of the heterogeneity of its knowledge bases and its multiple centres of dialogue and action. Women's Studies is the typical offspring of a movement for justice, recognition and emancipation from subordination. It embraces within itself, academia and action, theory and practice, voices and scripts. It is a powerful tool for calling attention to the intellectual and ideational skills of women across the world and to the importance of role distinctions between men and women in society at large. This difference is covered by Women's Studies on both material and intellectual planes.

Scholars challenge the philosophical underpinnings of human knowledge and critique existing paradigms in all intellectual disciplines. Their basic premise is that the concepts, tools and techniques that are now in use, endorse gender-based discrimination and the denial of equity to women. Their aim is to interrogate these through a perspective that highlights the processes through which women have been made marginal and invisible, and also to formulate new definitions and methodologies that can give the necessary critical edge to future knowledge systems. The theoretical intrusions are meant to assimilate gender consciousness into mainstream disciplines.

To develop a critical perspective towards all existing disciplines is one of the major contributions of the Gender Studies programme. The intention is not to look

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at women separately as a fragmented reality, but to reconstruct reality with the major focus on women. Women's Studies has been crucial in helping social science to broaden the notion of 'Social,' thus transcending earlier narrow formulations. The challenge of Women's Studies has been to transform the way that social reality is presented in all the so-called 'mainstream' disciplines. The deep foundations of the inequality of the sexes are built in the minds of men and women through a socialization process which continues to be powerful.

A continuing dialogue between researchers on Women's Studies and activists, on the one hand, and the planners and policy makers, on the other, will increase the sensitivity to woman's cause. Recent understandings and analyses have challenged discipline boundaries, and each discipline's underlying notions and hypotheses, e.g. economics deals with 'production' and 'labour'; yet these definitions have deep sociological causes. Apart from the bursting disciplines, there is even a greater challenge to conventional wisdom through the questioning of language itself. We step into not only the questions of knowledge gaps, but go beyond those and question the process of obtaining that knowledge - the realm of meta-knowledge if one can call it that.

In Women's Studies we have to examine:

— the connection between Women's Studies and women's struggles;

— how to teach 'conscientization'

— how to evaluate

Women's Studies courses, not as information gathering, but for their potency as an advocate of feminist consciousness of liberation. It is a great challenge. We, in

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India, have the task of uncovering the 'male bias' in our institutions that have led to male dominance. The only institution that can counter the effects of this process is the educational system. If education is to promote equality of women, it must make a deliberate planned and sustained effort so that the new value, equality of the sexes, can replace the traditional value system of inequality.

The introduction of Women's Studies in any field is invariably accompanied by an undercurrent of an active desire to change existing perspectives on what is considered "possible," "appropriate" or "essential" for women. A great many things are involved in, thusly, changing perspectives and prescriptions. The task is challenging.

Women's Studies as an academic discipline has come to stay and has expanded over the years. In order to strengthen the growth and development of the programme as a discipline, a definite procedure can be followed which would be inclusive of men in the social framework. The following recommendations can be made given the context of the Indian social set up. Some of the recommendations are:

a) evolving theory out of the research experience;

b) engaging in field work where research and action can interact;

c) sharing ideas of research.

Apart from the above, in the Indian context, forbidden topics in social discourse and the lack of information and understanding of gender and sexuality, leads young people to make choices that place both themselves and others at risk.

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We need to start:

1. the process of awareness building for the youth;
2. to make youth understand conceptual categories (sexuality, gender, class, race);
3. to understand the relation within society (its construction and the construction of knowledge domains of public discourse and practices);
4. to observe that this transformation of attitudes is stable and empowering; and
5. to give special importance to issues like sexuality and gender as they cut across all different social cleavages.

In doing so, educational institutions can act as counter-socializers in learning sex roles. Institutions should make such knowledge accessible.

There are three factors that compound the problem for the youth.

1. The lack of good knowledge to talk of sexuality;
2. Social conditioning is such that people behave as though sexuality is abnormal; and
3. The ambivalence and the construction of sexuality based on male primacy gives rise to risky behaviour on the part of boys and places girls at a risk for coercive sex and abuse.

It is not surprising, therefore, that sexuality has got entirely relegated out of mainstream discourse. Neither in homes, in institutions nor in the behavioural sciences is this taught as a process of internalizing and coming to terms with our emerging sexuality. The consequence is the youth make choices based on misconceptions and

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myths, thereby placing themselves and others at a risk of disease, abuse and psychological morbidity.

Together with this lacunae is the social setting of the individual where society follows the patriarchal order, roles get defined and hierarchy established. A major part of sexuality and choices has to do with gender construction. To rectify this situation, the educational institution has to step in

1. to underscore that all interventionists, which includes teachers, need to connect to their own sexuality/ gender and become comfortable with the language of sexuality;
2. to highlight that the major issue is not an endorsement of sexual experimentation;
3. to provide young people with a frame of reference to make healthy choices;
4. to take care that education is not restricted to providing information, but extended to providing a space for the process;
5. to stimulate a wide examination of diversity issues focused on, but not limited to, gender;
6. to provide students with a critical framework to examine themselves and their society;
7. to require students to examine how the social construction of gender has affected their own choices in life as well as the distribution of power and resources in society; and
8. to network with individuals and agencies for training needs.

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WOMEN EDUCATION

R.C. Mishra

The education of girls and women has been recognised for several decades as a fundamental human right and a developmental necessity. Never the less, large gender disparities in enrolment and learning achievements persist. Eradicating these disparities is well within the power and spending capacity of the world's governments. Failure to do so constitutes a massive denial of the basic human rights of tens of millions of girls in the developing world.

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